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Editor: LESLIE F. CHURCH, B.A., Ph.D.

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Editorial Comments

ROBERT LOUIS STEVENSON

THESE ARE books which editors—and such—may scan from time to time to discover some anniversary whose recognition may fill an empty space. It is a dull business recalling incidents and achievements of a hundred years ago—events which have shrunk into insignificance with the years. To look through such records rouses no more emotion than does the reading of an outdated timetable on a country station. But to remember suddenly that it is the birthday of a friend is to be thrilled with memories, to smile or grow pensive, looking wistfully over the years.

A century ago—to be exact, on 13th November 1850—Robert Louis Stevenson was born. Today we of a later generation think of him, not with an effort as of necessity, but gladly, with a smile, for, with a stroke of the pen as it were, he made himself our friend. In imagination we have shared many an intimate hour with him, hiding in the heather of Skye, breathing the salt air from the haar of the North Sea, or listening to the surf on the shores of the Pacific.

It was some strange gift of intimacy which won and held our hearts. We knew Heriot Row 'for we were very lucky, with a lamp before the door'. We knew Swanston, where 'the air comes briskly and sweetly off the hills . . . and even at the toll, you may hear the curlew calling on its mate'. We knew them 'first-hand', for he came himself, on a printed page, to tell us!

It was strange that a Bohemian and a wanderer should have interpreted home to so many, but then, he carried it in his heart. Perhaps that is why he shared it with so wide a circle across the deep seas and over the boundary of Time. Though he has been dead these fifty years and more, we can still hear him saying:

*Home was home, then, my dear, full of kindly faces,
Home was home, then, my dear, happy for the child.*

'He has been dead'—that was a clumsy phrase to write of one who is numbered amongst the Immortals. Lesser men have torn him to pieces with their talk of *poseur*, plagiarist, and lover of the looking-glass. Sentimentalists have 'adored' him! Between these extremes there have been those who wondered, saying to one another, 'Will he last? Is he a passing vogue?' He has lasted and he will last and there are good reasons why he should.

He did not give the world a new philosophy; he exemplified an old one. When his mother, Mrs. Thomas Stevenson, signed a quilt she wrote beneath her name, 'Be good yourself; make others happy,' and then said quietly, 'That is the Gospel according to R.L.S.'

To have faith and hope and charity, to be brave when there are no trumpets sounding, and to be always a man of goodwill—such was the pattern of his life. It may be that the conventionalists were shocked by his occasional rebellion against the rules by which they lived, but, at least, he remained unswerving in his loyalties. Much has been written about his 'faith'; too little about his faithfulness. As an artist

he could not betray his trust. 'His style', said Neil Munro, 'is an incarnation of his thought and character. . . . His language could never have been the ready-made stuff of literary slop-shops. . . . No man was ever less constituted to feel happy in a second-hand pair of trousers, and the search through life and words for what was most in harmony with himself was unsatisfied by anything short of his private ideal.'

His artistry in words might in itself justify those who maintain his works will endure, but it was the man himself who makes one sure of his immortality. It is not so much what his fellows said about him that is most convincing, but rather what he told us of himself, as he wrote, not as an exhibitionist, but as a generous child. To read his books is to know him, and for the great majority even today to love him. More than sixty years ago he wrote praising another poet: 'Everyone has been influenced by Wordsworth, and it is hard to tell precisely how. A certain innocence, a rugged austerity of joy, a sight of the stars . . . something of the cold thrill of dawn, cling to his work and give it a particular address to what is best in us.' It is not so much the teaching of the poet which casts the spell, but rather the man himself. 'A spirit communicated is a perpetual possession. These best teachers climb beyond teaching to the place of art; it is themselves, and what is best in themselves that they communicate.'

That is precisely why one is sure that Stevenson will survive the years. There are few other writers who have had a more affectionate public. 'R.L.S. are the best-loved initials in the English language,' said Sir James Barrie, and, indeed, it would be difficult to suggest any modern competitor! Who would expect to be even understood if he referred to Charles Dickens as C.D. or talked of W.S. when he was quoting William Shakespeare or Walter Scott? It is an almost unique intimacy which was established between reader and writer, and it is such a bond which makes for survival.

The wonder and tenderness of a child mingle with a child's generosity as he takes us into his heart and his confidence. We know him for what he really is and smile at his weakness, yet marvel at his strength. When he writes of his inland voyage we do not rush to look up the records to discover if he was the first man to complete the distance in some given time! Instead, we thrill at his description of the canoe swept under a fallen tree, leaving him entangled in the branches. 'Death himself had me by the heels, for this was his last ambuscade, and he must himself join in the fray. *And still I clung to my paddle.*' As we read it once again, we can see that frail figure coughing his life away, and still he clung to his pen! Still he wrote of sunshine and laughter and the love of friends. 'He did not dally with foul vices to serve the ends of purity.' Instead he wrote of happiness and good cheer with what Ian Maclareen described as 'a Greek joy in the beautiful that was annealed to a fine purity by his Scottish faith'. So, then, we salute Tusitala, the Teller of Tales, whose love for his fellows begot our love for him. This is the centenary of his birth. As for his death, it was for him but a homecoming.

To those who quote figures and say his day is done there is an answer in the words of another Greatheart, G. K. Chesterton, who prophesied: 'Stevenson will win, not because he has friends or admirers or the approval of the public or the assent of the aesthetes. He will win because he is *right*—a word of great practical import which needs to be rediscovered. He may or may not be eclipsed for a time; it would be a truer way of putting it to say that the public may or may not be eclipsed for a time.'

No grave could hold his brave spirit. To those of us who love him, and we are

many, he does not appear an angel with white wings, but as a boy tramping, climbing, whistling as he goes—cheerfully but surely toward the land of dreams come true. Did he know where he was going? As surely as did Il Poverello or Sidney Lanier or Francis Thompson and indeed all good men on pilgrimage. He did not talk of ways and means, nor study maps of the soul, designed by men. He walked as a man may walk who knows that at the end of the day he will see the lights of Home.

When Alfred Noyes wrote of him, he said: 'The music of that word "home" in his own epitaph:

*'Home is the sailor, home from sea,
And the hunter home from the hill'*

means more than a mouthful of dust. It is the music of the Absolute Reality; and that is not a silence, not a void, but a consummation.'

For such men there is no death, nor for their work an ending.

PORT ROYAL AND JOHN WESLEY

IN A RECENT study of the Abbé de Saint-Cyran and the first Port-Royalists, Jean Orcibal has traced their relationship to the Reformers and certain men of the Counter-Reformation. In his general conclusion he points out that Du Vergier and Arnauld were opposed to Luther and Calvin in many of their beliefs but that, in certain others, there is a measure of agreement. This, he feels, is true in those cases where Luther and Calvin echo the earlier mystics or are in harmony with such contemporary Catholics as Jean d'Avila. (In such a survey it becomes, once again, obvious that the term Counter-Reformation is an unfortunate description of the complex movement which it sets out to define. In the beginning of the sixteenth century there was an increasingly strong conviction that the need for ecclesiastical and spiritual reformation was desperate. This conviction was felt by many Christians who could not tolerate the idea of breaking away from the Church, and it is absurd to bundle such people into the same camp with the bitterest opponents of Luther and Calvin.)

A most interesting section of Jean Orcibal's study deals with the part played by John Wesley as an intermediary between the school of the Abbé de Saint-Cyran and the Protestants of the eighteenth century. It seems clear that the founder of Methodism was largely responsible for the dissemination of many of their ideas to the men of his own day and, subsequently, to the people of the early nineteenth century. Following his custom John Wesley reproduced much of the work of the Abbé without quoting his sources, feeling, apparently, that the name would be of no interest to his readers!¹

In 1760 he added at the end of his fourth volume of sermons a translation of a third of the 'thoughts' which Andilly had selected from the *Letters of Saint-Cyran* in 1672. They appeared under the title *Christian Instructions*. These were reprinted in 1773 in Vol. 24 of his Works as *Christian Reflections (Translated from the French)*. Meanwhile he had included much of their essence, in 1766, in *A Plain Account of Christian Perfection*, commanding them, more warmly than usual, as suitable themes for devotional exercises and for quiet meditation.

¹ 'Le Premier Port-Royal: Réforme ou Contre-Réforme?' Jean Orcibal, *La Nouvelle Clio* (May-June 1950).

In a close analysis of the selection made, Jean Orcibal discusses the reasons for those sections which Wesley evidently rejected. It is obvious that some of these, even in Andilly's abridgement, were repetitions. Others were omitted because they had no significance for English people but, more important, are those which represented a theological position with which he could not agree—for example the teaching on the authority of the Church, the need of Councils and the position of the hierarchy. The attitude taken by Saint-Cyran to the Mass, the Confessional and the doctrine of Justification by Works, the Sacrament of Penance, and the doctrine of Purgatory were also condemned by their silent rejection. The fact that Wesley omitted thirty of the Abbé's maxims which savoured too strongly of mysticism shows how finely he would have disagreed with Bérulle on whose teaching they were originally based. Others were left out probably because he suspected their Antinomianism.

On the other hand there was so much retained and commended that it is evident that he and Saint-Cyran had much in common. When the Abbé answers the question 'How shall we conquer the world?' he answers in the same strain as did Jean d'Avila and Bérulle, and Wesley clearly agrees with them. They say with one accord: 'By entire consecration of our heart to God, by following Him with absolute fidelity for true piety consists in doing what He commands and not what we choose.' Some of the 'Instructions' he included refer to the Christian ministry, and Jean Orcibal thinks they prove that Wesley retained some of his early 'High Church' views when he was making his selection from Saint-Cyran.

His analysis is made in close detail and establishes many links between Port-Royal and early Methodist teaching. Like the Abbé, Wesley appears strongly opposed to any excess of asceticism. Christian work must take the place of the mortification of the flesh, and such work implies patience in the smallest, every-day tasks and in our ordinary relationships with our fellows. Social service must be founded on Christocentric spirituality. 'We cannot love our neighbour, or even tolerate him, unless we see in him the Son of God revealing Himself before our very eyes.'

Love, both Wesley and Saint-Cyran agree, is vital in all our 'spiritual exercises' for it is the chief amongst the virtues. It cannot be produced at will. After all, the other name for Charity is Grace, which comes to help our weakness and to make the hardest of our work possible.

In their opposition to Pelagianism and quietist Antinomianism the Abbé and the Methodist are also in agreement. 'One must work as if one did not rely upon the grace of God—and trust in His grace as if one did not claim to obtain anything by one's work.' By doing this we are saved from carelessness on the one hand and from presumption on the other. In all the teaching of Saint-Cyran and of John Wesley morality is subordinated to the personal experience of the living Christ in the soul of man. They both agree that He has not only made satisfaction for us but that 'He strives in us' for it is He who, by His Spirit, gives us 'a new heart' and 'shapes our prayers'. He gives us the command and the power to obey it.

'True Christians', says the Abbé, 'are the living images of Jesus Christ and reveal Him in a better and more divine way than do even the records in the Gospels . . . for the Gospel only contains the past life of Jesus Christ . . . whilst true Christians contain His present life in their living personalities.' By selecting these sentences for publication Wesley showed his accord with their original author.

Whilst Luther and Calvin stressed the ideas of the omnipotence of God, of His incomprehensible decrees, of predestination, of the depravity of man and of the

divine justice—and whilst their central message concerned justification, John Wesley was at least as concerned about sanctification. Deeply anxious that his new converts should not lack counsel as they went on to know the further blessings of salvation, he seized upon all works of devotion which he thought would help their spiritual development. After careful censorship he published them, translating and abridging as he felt necessary. Amongst those whose views he helped to make known were the Marquis de Renty (*La Vie de Renty* by Saint-Jure) Brother Lawrence, Mme. Guyon, Bourignon, Fénelon, Pierre Poiret, Molinos and Abbé Fleury. Largely through his influence the teaching of such masters of 'la religion du cœur' became more widely known amongst Protestants in the first decades of the nineteenth century. It would, however, be true to say that the contribution made by Jean d'Avila and the Spanish mystics through Saint-Cyran and Duguet has not even yet been fully appreciated by Protestants as a whole and Methodists in particular.

There was a closer relationship than we have realized between the spiritual awakening in Spain, in France and in the Evangelical Revival in England. This is not merely a matter of academic interest. 'I do not in the least want to know what happened in the past,' said John Morley, 'except as it enables me to see my way more clearly through what is happening today.' Whether the Port-Royalists should be reckoned part of the Reformation or of the Counter-Reformation is an interesting historical question, but there is a deeper significance in the same movement of the Spirit in the hearts of men who seemed, by circumstance, isolated. That they were stirred by the same divine impulses which inspired John Wesley to question the religious life of England gives us good hope that in our day the same Eternal Love is at work in many communions and in widely differing personalities. It encourages us to believe that the Spirit Himself will direct and empower all faithful souls who, as Saint-Cyran would have said, 'empty their hearts that He may enter'. There lies the hope of a new spiritual awakening in our generation. There, too, lies the challenge to all who are concerned in the Ecumenical Movement and the Reunion of Christendom.

ACCORDING TO MOFFATT

IT IS NOW thirty-seven years since Dr. James Moffatt's *New Translation of the New Testament* was first published, in one volume. His version of the Old Testament appeared twenty-six years ago. Today the whole work is known and accepted in every part of the English-speaking world. As the Publishers say: 'A reference to "Moffatt" may be made in casual speech with a fair measure of confidence that it will be understood.' Whether it is read as a kind of commentary or used, with discretion, in place of the Authorized or Revised Version it is undoubtedly helping the ordinary man to read his Bible more intelligently. In the days of Wyclif, Englishmen thrilled to hear the Word of God in their own language. It is hardly too much to say that the work of Moffatt and, to a lesser degree of Weymouth, Goodspeed, or Torrey, has made what was a 'closed' book to many, once more an 'open' Bible. The man of today may read these versions with understanding and so, inevitably, with quickened interest.

The widespread use of 'Moffatt' has created a need for a special Concordance. This is particularly necessary in the case of passages transposed from their original

contexts as the result of critical research and in the cause of clearness and accuracy. The Concordance¹ now published is based on the Definitive (1934) Edition and has been arranged on a simple plan. It contains nearly 70,000 references, allowing two or three key-words to every verse. Every quotable *phrase*, within a sentence, has at least one reference, and all modern or unusual words are cited.

The aim of Dr. Moffatt, who takes his place amongst the great translators, was 'to offer the unlearned a transcript of the biblical literature as it lies in the light thrown upon it by modern research'. This aim has been partly achieved; it will be carried still farther by the publication of this Concordance—a tool which will help the student and the general reader to work the ore wherein lies so much pure gold.

¹ Hodder and Stoughton, 52s. 6d.

Bibliography to 'Port Royal and John Wesley,' pp. 291-3.

'Les spirituels français et espagnols chez J. Wesley et ses contemporains' Jean Orcibal, *La Revue d'histoire des Religions*.

J. Wesley et la spiritualité française (in preparation).

Articles

A CHRISTOLOGY OF LOVE

THE FOURTH GOSPEL has two Christologies, one in the foreground and one in the background, but these two are one. The foreground Christology is that of the flesh, the background Christology that of the Word, yet the thesis which dominates the whole Gospel is that in the Jesus of whom it writes 'the Word became flesh'. Let us glance at each of these Christologies separately.

The foreground of the Gospel is occupied by a figure that is through and through human. Not merely does John insist, as against docetic tendencies in his own day, that Jesus really hungered and thirsted, really suffered and died. The very use of the name 'Jesus' so consistently throughout his narrative, at a time when titles were in current usage attached to the name, shows the emphasis he lays on the humanity and historicity of the Lord. Further, he again and again stresses the total dependence of the Son on the Father, His obedience to Him, and His presence in the world as one who has been 'sent' by Him. His crowning act of power, the raising of Lazarus, is not His own doing, it is the Father's answer to His prayer.

The background Christology is set out, of course, in the Prologue. Without entering here into any niceties of interpretation, we can say that the Word there spoken of belongs to eternity and shares in the very life of God. He was the intermediary in creation and revelation, and when He came among men it was as a Divine Stranger. This Word possesses all those things which belong intrinsically to the being of God and constitute the salvation of men, life and light, glory and grace and truth. It was precisely this glorious pre-existent Being who came to us as a concrete historical personality. How the Incarnation was effected John does not say, he is concerned simply to assert and maintain the fact. That human life which he describes in what we have called the foreground of the Gospel has its roots in what we now speak of as its background. Here is a man like ourselves who is at the same time the entry into space and time of something that belongs to the eternal life of the Godhead. So the two Christologies are one.

But we must go on to say that from time to time in the Gospel the background breaks through into the foreground and becomes manifest there. There are indeed instances in which this is effected somewhat unskilfully, so that the modern reader suspects that John has not been able to avoid the docetism he is elsewhere concerned to combat. That is the case, for example, with the rewriting of the Gethsemane story so as to eliminate any suggestion of human weakness in favour of an untroubled divine calm. But in the signs, as John prefers to call the miracles, we are made conscious at once of the presence of a power from beyond and of the need for faith to discern that it is there. When Jesus manifests His glory at Cana, the others may wonder, but only the disciples believe (2¹¹). On certain momentous occasions, too, Jesus uses language only appropriate in the mouth of one who is more than human. The majestic

'I am' provokes His hearers to fury as a blasphemous invasion of the divine prerogative, but the Christian reader knows that this is a point at which what is in eternity comes to expression in the midst of time.

The supreme instance of this irruption of the background into the foreground is, of course, the Passion-narrative. And there above all we see that only faith can discern what is taking place. The hour to which the whole ministry of Jesus leads up is the hour of His rejection—and His triumph. The glory which is His by nature but which has been veiled all through His earthly life shines out in its full radiance as He goes to the Cross—and returns to the Father. But this time it is not sufficient that the reader should be trusted to grasp the significance of what is taking place. In the Prayer of Consecration in Chapter 17 the evangelist has provided his own commentary. Now the foreground shrinks almost to vanishing point, and what has hitherto been kept in the background occupies virtually the whole landscape. We may follow R. H. Strachan in his suggestion that behind this chapter, perhaps the noblest in the whole Bible and the one most invested with the 'numinous', lies the utterance of a Christian prophet at the Lord's Table. To him it has been given to have the mind of Christ; in his words the Lord speaks out of His own consciousness of a divine origin and a painful destiny which He accepts with joy as the work given Him to do. The hour has come, and His glory waits for Him at the Cross.

The epistles which go by the name of John belong clearly to a time in which the unity of the Church was threatened. In fact, schism has already taken place. 'They went out from us, but they were not of us; for if they had been of us, they would have continued with us' (1 John 2¹⁹). The Evangelist is also concerned to maintain the unity of the Church, and this is one of the main themes of the prayer in Chapter 17. The chapter falls obviously into two parts, with the division after verse 19. In the first part the thought of Jesus is for His immediate disciples. They were given to Him by the Father, He has made to them the revelation with which He was entrusted, and now He prays, not for their safety, but for their consecration and steadfastness, in a hostile world. In the second part the petition is for the disciples of the disciples, for the Christians of the Evangelist's own day. Here his concern for unity takes precedence over everything else. He seems to feel that the future of the Christian community and the efficacy of its witness are alike dependent on this one consideration: can it remain united within itself?

But the unity which he prizes so highly does not consist merely in presenting a common front to the world or in speaking with one voice in the Master's name. It is of a higher and more spiritual order than that. The unity of Christians is to mirror in the world the unity of the Son with the Father and so to attest its reality. The accord between the disciples will be the most effectual demonstration of the Lord's mission. 'That they may all be one . . . that the world may believe that thou didst send me.' And again: 'That they may be perfected into one; that the world may know that thou didst send me, and lovedst them, even as thou lovedst me.'

But we must go very much farther than that, so far indeed that even our imagination may falter and be unable to keep pace with the Evangelist in his

bold flight. The unity of Christians does not simply mirror that of Father and Son; it can do so because it is of the same order with that unity. Shall we say that the human unity is 'of one substance' with the divine? Yes, if we use the term metaphorically and not literally and materialistically. There is an indwelling of the Father in the Son and of the Son in the Father; but that is one also with the indwelling of Christians in both. 'That they may all be one; even as thou, Father, art in me, and I in thee, that they also may be in us.' Even more explicitly: 'That they may be one, even as we are one; I in them, and thou in me, that they may be perfected into one.' In a broadcast review of Professor Donald Baillie's book *God Was In Christ*, Professor Donald Mackinnon described as one defect in its Christology that it did not distinguish clearly enough between the saint's relation to his Lord and that of his Lord to God. Could not the same criticism be brought with equal force against John here? Is it not indeed his deliberate aim to assimilate the unity of Christians among themselves to that of the Lord with God? If so, then the nature of the unity in both cases becomes clear. It is that ethical and spiritual unity of Jesus as Son with God as Father which forms so important an element of what we called the foreground Christology of the Gospel. 'The Son can do nothing of himself, but what he seeth the Father doing: for what things soever he doeth, these the Son also doeth in like manner' (5¹⁰). 'Believest thou not that I am in the Father, and the Father in me? the words that I say unto you I speak not from myself: but the Father abiding in me doeth his works' (14¹⁰).

But this unity for which Jesus prays is only in part to be achieved here below. Its full realization lies in the future. Therefore the final petition is for the incorporation of the disciples into the future glorious life of their Lord. 'Father, that which thou hast given me, I will that, where I am, they also may be with me; that they may behold my glory, which thou hast given me; for thou lovedst me before the foundation of the world' (17²⁴). He who speaks here speaks as one whose life is of eternity rather than of time. He existed before the world as a participator in the divine glory and an object of the divine love. For a while He is in the world as Jesus the man of Nazareth. Now He is about to go back whence He came. But, whereas He came forth from the Father an individual, He will return to Him a corporate personality, including within Himself both the disciples whom He has won personally and those whom they will win hereafter. The community gathered out of the world is finally in this way to be taken up into the very life of the Godhead. For only by language as daring as this can we do justice to the thought of the Evangelist.

Over the entrance to this whole rich world of thought and devotion one word is written. That word is 'love'. For it is because God is love that this relation of mutual indwelling is possible, God in us and we in God. 'If a man love me, he will keep my word: and my Father will love him, and we will come unto him, and make our abode with him' (14²³). This must not be understood to mean that the divine indwelling is a reward for love as something in its nature quite distinct. To abide in the Father is to abide in His love, and this in turn is identical with obedience to His commandments (15¹⁰). For love, as John understands it, is more than affection, it is total personal and

ethical unity with another. So it is with Jesus Himself. His love to the Father is His obedience to the Father's commandment (14²¹). It is on this account that He dwells in the Father and the Father in Him: the ministry He exercises attests this, just because it is no display of His own powers but the humble and grateful use of the powers which the Father has given Him (14²⁰).

The language of the first Epistle is still clearer on this point, for it develops the implications of its great assertion that 'God is love'. To be in God, to abide in Him, is characteristic of the Christian: what decides whether such a claim is genuine or not is the love of the brethren and the obedience to God's will which the claimant can show. 'He that saith he abideth in him ought himself to walk even as he walked' (2⁶). 'He that keepeth his commandments abideth in him, and he in him' (3²⁴). But the most emphatic statement of all is that 'God is love; and he that abideth in love abideth in God, and God in him' (4¹⁶). To be sure, the Spirit is coupled with love in the Epistle as in the Gospel. There is perhaps a slight difference of emphasis. Is it that love is the actual dwelling of God in the believer, while the Spirit is rather the source of the knowledge that He so indwells? 'Hereby we know that he abideth in us, by the Spirit which he gave us' (3²⁴).

If now we return to John 17, we see in the closing verses of that chapter the confirmation of the argument so far. The Son received the Father's love before the foundation of the world; this love He gave to the disciples while He was with them as the man Jesus, and His final petition is that this divine love may dwell in them, for as it does so He will himself dwell in them. 'Where love is, God is.'

There is a further thought in the Epistle which calls for consideration. 'No man hath beheld God at any time: if we love one another, God abideth in us, and his love is perfected in us' (4¹²). Here it is evident that the love which makes possible, indeed which constitutes, the divine indwelling is not our love to God but our love to the brethren. What then is the love which is 'perfected', brought to full expression in us? Is it our love to God or His love to us? The argument seems to me to require the latter. The God who is beyond the world seeks to enter into the world, and can only do so in and through the fellowship of love which we create. As we put this at His service He takes our lives as His dwelling-place and comes so to the fruition of His endeavour. That would be strictly in accordance with the Gospel, for which the obedience of Jesus and His self-identification with men are at the same time the action of the Father in the world.

It is love too which enables us to understand the references to 'glory' in the chapter we are studying. The glory of God is the divine being thought of as radiance and splendour. God dwells 'in light unapproachable; whom no man hath seen, nor can see' (1 Timothy 6¹⁶). Or rather He is Himself such light. Now in the Old Testament there are passages in which the glory of God is almost identical with His prestige or reputation, as is the case with a man. In the Fourth Gospel all such misconceptions are eradicated once for all by the conception of God's glory as His self-giving love. The supreme act by which He manifests His nature is the Passion: in a man lifted up on a cross to die in shame His might and majesty break into the world as never before. It is when the traitor goes out into the night on his errand of evil that Jesus

greets with joy the glory that is to be God's and His (John 18³¹). Because God is love, and not merely has love, the radiant splendour of the divine nature is His limitless self-giving. To receive God's glory, to dwell in Him, and to love—these three are one.

With this in mind, we may now go on to set out and restate the Christology of John 17, seeking to do justice equally to what is in the foreground and what in the background. The prayer is an excerpt from a drama, the drama of a divine Being who comes to earth, toils and suffers and dies, till He returns whence He came, there to await those who have been won from the world to His community. It is thus a parallel to the hymn in Philippians 2, except that there are two important differences. In the first place, the Johannine Christ does not return at His exaltation to a higher glory than that which He had in his pre-mundane existence; He goes back to what was His at the first, since this was already the highest dignity open to Him. In the second place, and as a consequence of this, the Johannine Christ does not take upon Himself the form of a slave: His glory is not surrendered, not laid aside, but veiled. Hence He can utter the awful 'I am' and proclaim His Godhead before the Jews. But throughout the Fourth Gospel we meet with this theme of descent and return, so that death itself is spoken of as 'going to the Father'.

The relation between the Johannine Christ and God is far from easy to define. That is apparent already in the opening verse of the Gospel. To translate, 'The Word was God', is too much; while to translate, 'The Word was divine', is too little. The question is left open. Better, one should say that for John the Word is at once God and other than God, just as the Incarnate Son is both one with the Father and subordinate to Him. Nor is the uncertainty resolved when the Gospel closes, as it originally did, with the ardent confession of Thomas: 'My Lord and my God' (20²²). For shortly before this we have heard the Risen Christ Himself say to Mary: 'I ascend unto my Father and your Father, and my God and your God' (20¹⁷). Even now that He can no longer associate with His disciples as before, but must distinguish clearly between their relation to the Father and His own, He still recognizes that there is One of whom He must speak as 'His God'. While therefore the Evangelist is willing to use the title 'God' of the Lord after He has risen and to represent Him as speaking as only God can speak during His earthly life, he seems yet to fall short of identifying Him fully with God.

It is, of course, precisely for this problem that the Trinitarian doctrine offers a solution, and one cannot doubt that it lends itself well to the purpose. Christ in His incarnate state, it is urged, may be God, but not the Father: as Son He is both one with God and other than God. There are, however, two respects in which this conception fails to do justice to the data supplied by our chapter. To begin with, it makes the relation of Christian to Christian and of the Christian to his Lord analogous to that of the Son to the Father merely, not, as in John, of the same order with it. The one is ethical and the other metaphysical, although, to be sure, the attempt may be made to connect these two by the use of the category 'mystical' to connote, presumably, something that partakes of both. Then, the final inclusion of the Church as the community of the redeemed is not provided for. 'I will that, where I am, they

also may be with me.' Basing on this chapter alone, one might almost argue for a Trinity in which the Third Person would be the Church! We have therefore to seek for other categories than the traditional ones.

The right interpretation of John's Christology here is, I think, to be found in the Old Testament, where there appear from time to time what may be called 'extensions of the divine personality'. The idea has been made familiar to us by Aubrey Johnson in his study *The One and the Many in the Israelite Conception of God* (1942). The most obvious instance of what is meant by that expression is the 'angel of the Lord' in the Pentateuchal narratives. The angel is, as it were, the other self of Jehovah, he is in one sense detached from Him and in another identical with Him. So the divine Name can be thought of as going forth from God to lead a quasi-independent existence; yet how can the Name, which is also the nature, of God be finally separated from Him? 'Behold, the name of the Lord cometh from far, burning with his anger, and in thick rising smoke: his lips are full of indignation, and his tongue is as a devouring fire' (Isaiah 30²⁷). The Wisdom and Word of God are related to Him in the same way, and the Logos of the Johannine Prologue is, as we have seen, both one with God and other than God. Once grant that the frontiers of personality are not strictly delimited, as in our thinking, and we can see how the being of God can be, as it were, extended to include within it the community of disciples with their Lord as He returns to Him.

But we must perforce work with personality as *we* understand it. So that our quest for categories must go on. A person may be thought of in two ways, either as an individual distinct from other individuals or as an experience, an activity, a continuous life with its own specific characteristics. If we have met with difficulties so long as we operated with the first and rigid conception of personality, let us make the experiment of employing the second, of working with dynamic rather than static categories. God is the realm of absolute values, the wealth of spiritual life. God is Light: He is a whole world of spiritual riches and splendour, of holiness and truth, beauty and joy. He is this, not simply as something, which He possesses, but as something which He ceaselessly imparts. God is Love: His very life is self-giving, His perfection is one with His self-communication. He is for ever bestowing upon His creatures the inexhaustible wealth of His own being. God is Life: He is activity and energy, even while He is eternal peace. We should not say that He has, but that He is, eternal spiritual life, and that this life maintains itself by sharing itself.

We for our part have the highest privilege accorded to a 'creature'. We not only receive this radiant splendour, we are able consciously to participate in it. We do so in such measure as we are spiritually akin to it. God's world of light and holiness and beauty—which, be it remembered, is God Himself—is accessible to us as we love them and welcome them into our lives, to inform and reshape them. Nor is that all. We receive from God in the measure in which we give to others, since love only exists where it is given. As the divine forgiveness is conditional upon our forgiveness of others, so it is only as we go out toward our fellows that we are able to participate in the divine life of love. 'If we love one another, God abideth in us.' Christ dwells in our hearts by

faith as we are 'rooted and grounded in love' (Ephesians 3¹⁶⁻¹⁹). Paul is thinking, not of the insertion of several small personalities into one larger one, but of participation by insight and obedience in a triumphant and superabundant life. Christ is His enterprise of love and redemption and to be 'in Christ' is to share actively in that. It is in this sense that in John 17 the disciples are finally to be taken up into the very life of God.

Of this dynamic relation to God, this active participation in His continuous spiritual life, the supreme illustration is that Jesus whom the Fourth Gospel describes as living with Him as Son with Father. 'My Father worketh even until now, and I work' (5¹⁷). He bids men at least 'believe the works: that ye may know and understand that the Father is in me, and I in the Father' (10³⁸). It is in His action in the world, His healing of the blind and the paralytic, that Jesus is in the Father and the Father in Him. Hence He is able to promise that what He has done will be surpassed by the disciples after Him, for the Spirit will enable them to share yet more fully in the divine self-expression and activity. Of Jesus also it is true that He receives from God in such measure as He gives from Himself: it is because His life is one of love that God is so abundantly present in it. His life is one with God's continuous self-giving, because it is of the same quality. His unity with the Father is thus ethical and spiritual as is that of the disciple with his Lord. In Him the love of God—which is God Himself—takes flesh to dwell among us.

What now remains of that divine drama to which reference was made earlier? It is the drama, we see, of the divine participation in history with its struggle and pain, its frustrated endeavours and its opportunities for the service of love which redeems what would otherwise be waste. The divine love takes upon itself the burden of our human ignorance and pride and sin, and does this pre-eminently in the self-sacrificing life and death of Jesus. In His love for men the divine love finds its opportunity to come to full expression in the world. It finds that opportunity through His insight into the Father's will and His obedient acceptance of it, even when it led Him to the Cross. But from the Cross the divine life of love goes on, its will to self-giving and redemption incorporated now in all who through Christ are drawn to the Father and to each other. As they give of what they have received, so they receive ever more fully. And the final goal of history is that all humanity may be won at last for this on-going divine life whose fullest realization yet is in Christ. Then will the prayer be fulfilled: 'that the love wherewith thou lovedst me may be in them, and I in them.'

E. L. ALLEN

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF CHRIST THROUGH THE AGES¹

(Continued from page 205, July 1950)

PROBABLY it was inevitable that these questions should be debated and we should be foolish to regret that they were raised, but the controversies concerning them agitated the Church for four centuries and indeed have never completely subsided. They issued in a disastrous schism in the Church and in much speculation which had little real connexion with religion. The story of the Councils which settled the orthodox faith is not altogether edifying and, especially in the later stages of the controversy, worldly motives of prestige, of personal ambition and of secular politics played a considerable part. It was, too, in the strife over the significance of Christ that Christians learned to anathematize and persecute one another. Nevertheless, the suggestion that the storm was all an unnecessary fuss will not bear examination. Real religious values were at stake in the first of the struggles, that against the Arian heresy. Throughout the controversies the need was rightly felt to protect the faith of the rank-and-file Christian against the error of conceiving Christ as merely man, on the one hand, or as a purely divine being who merely appeared to be human, on the other. The long and complex history of the definition of the catholic doctrine of the Incarnation cannot be touched upon here. The decisive point was the introduction of the unbiblical word *όμοούσιος*, 'of one substance with the Father', into the Creed, thus laying down, in terms of the philosophy of the time, the full and complete divinity of Jesus Christ. Two remarks upon the doctrine of the Councils of Nicea and Chalcedon will have to be made here.

First, the purpose of the definitions was primarily defensive. The notion that the Church set out with presumptuous audacity to provide unnecessary definitions of the undefinable is false. Every one of the decisions was made to exclude an error which threatened the worship and faith of the Christian community. Two eminent writers on doctrine, both of the more conservative school, have emphasized this—Dr. Headlam and Dr. Gore. Dr. Gore writes: 'The only true and historical way of regarding these dogmatic decisions is to regard them as primarily *negative*. Their motive was not any positively felt need of interpreting or defining the faith as a thing good in itself, but simply the pressing necessity for excluding certain very powerfully supported intellectual theories which were at work and which were calculated to undermine the traditions of faith, worship, and practice which the Church was set to maintain—what it called the tradition.' And secondly, the general result of the definitions of doctrine about Christ was the conception of the God-man. The idea of incarnation is not peculiar to Christianity; it is found in more than one religion, but the distinctive features of the Christian doctrine of Incarnation are that the Incarnate Deity is a genuinely historical person and that the act of Incarnation is the assumption of full humanity by a being who is fully God. The idea of apotheosis is ruled out by the dogmatic definitions.

¹ This article is from *The Coming of Age of Christianity*, edited by Sir James Marchant (Latimer House, 12s. 6d.).

Thus those who, following Gibbon, sneer at the controversies about the Person of Christ as quarrels about an iota are very foolish. Fundamental problems which affect the life of the Church in all its aspects were really under discussion and, though the answers given by the great councils were not final, they did at least rule out certain tempting solutions. It may well be that the Church will never be able to improve upon the formulas which were crystallized at the Council of Chalcedon, but we should be blind if we did not see that they were capable of improvement and that, in fact, they left some extremely difficult questions unanswered. The Christian Church, when confronted with the need to state its message in terms of the intellect, was compelled to employ philosophical terms and conceptions which were current. It was perhaps fortunate that there were such generally accepted terms and ideas, in spite of the existence of many philosophical schools. The later Platonism was not, however, very well adapted to express the Christian faith. It had very little understanding of personality, and its concept of the nature of deity was poles apart from the dynamic, personal thought of God which the Church had inherited from the Old Testament. The essential element in the Christian experience of Christ is that the Personal God has revealed Himself with saving power in a human Person. The defect of Greek philosophy in its understanding of personality was reflected in the absence of words to convey the idea. The word ὑποστάσις, which is translated 'person' in the Creeds, does not mean what we mean by 'person'. It is indeed difficult to say what it does mean. Originally, before it was pressed into the service of theology, it was equivalent to 'substance', which is in fact its literal Latin translation.

This was embarrassing enough, but there was an even more fruitful root of confusion. In the Platonic philosophy there was a 'gulf' between the 'universal' and the 'particular', between the actual world and the world of 'ideas'. In theology this 'gulf' became an utter difference and separation between the divine and the human. For the Greek mind the essential nature of the divine was to be 'self-sufficient' and thus antithetical to all that exists in time, including human persons. It followed, of course, from this presupposition that all change and need, and all suffering, were excluded from the divine experience. It would not be too much to say that, when expressed in these terms, the problem of the person of Christ was insoluble from the outset. The divine and human natures were, it was taught, united in the Person of Christ, 'unmixed, unchanged, undivided, not to be separated'. But though the Church asserted the unity of the Person of Christ, in fact the conclusions which were drawn had the tendency to make the unity a fiction. When we are told, for example, that Jesus did this 'as man' and that 'as God', we are far away from the living unity of the figure in the Synoptic Gospels.

The failure of the orthodox doctrine to answer any of the fundamental questions is most plainly seen in the last controversy which troubled the Church of the Fathers—the debate whether there are two wills or only one in the Incarnate Word. When lecturing to classes of students who have no previous knowledge of the subject I have often tried the experiment of taking a vote on which is the orthodox doctrine. Almost always the opinions are about equally divided and those who are most anxious to be orthodox tend to adopt the heretical view that there is only one will. This is natural enough, because either

answer leads to an absurdity. It would be inconceivable that 'nature' should not include will and, therefore, if we wish to maintain the doctrine of the two natures, we are bound to hold that there are two wills, divine and human, in Christ; at the same time, we dare not suppose that these wills could ever be in conflict with one another or differ, for that would be to deny the unity of the person of Christ. We are, therefore, led to suppose that in the one person there are two wills which always and necessarily will the same things. The conception of two such wills with identical contents appear to be impossible. Here, if anywhere, Leibnitz's principle of the 'Identity of Indiscernibles' seems to be applicable.

The significance of the intellectual impasse to which the orthodox doctrine of the Person of Christ was brought by the working out of the implications of its own presuppositions is worth consideration. We have no right to say that it disproves the religious reality of the Incarnation. The fact of Christ and the experience which began with His entrance into the world remain. The ideas which were available for their interpretation were inadequate. The conclusion is sometimes drawn that we may rest content with the formulations of the doctrine which have to come to us from the age of the Fathers, recognizing that the reality is so great that no human concepts are sufficient for its expression. No doubt there is much to be said for this counsel of prudence—of '*docta ignorantia*'—and until we can find better terms to state our faith in Christ we shall be foolish to part with those which we have inherited. It may even be that the phrases of an outworn philosophy will always be more intelligible to the majority than more accurate designations. But the challenge of the person of Christ to the mind cannot really be avoided. If the orthodox formulas have ceased to be significant to educated persons, we are bound to attempt an explanation, and when once we begin to explain we have begun to restate in other and more contemporary terms.

But the need to grapple with the central problem of Christian theology is more fundamental still. The Christian Gospel claims to be the truth. It is alleged to have the clue to the meaning of existence. In accordance with this claim, Christian thinkers have asserted that all philosophies must fail which do not take the Incarnation as their centre, and all interpretations of history must be false which do not base themselves on the Kingdom of God. There is nothing illogical in asserting that the Incarnation is, in the end, a 'mystery', for how should we expect to understand the nature of a divine-human personality when we do not understand the nature of our own personality? But we need to be able to state clearly the affirmations which are implied in the incarnation. Though we must hold that, at length, we shall come to a point where thought and language falter, we have to make plain to ourselves and others precisely what we mean when we say that Christianity demands faith in Jesus Christ as Son of God.

The problem of theology today with respect to the central doctrine of the Person of Christ is, from one point of view, the exact opposite to that which confronted the Church of the Fathers. Then, we have seen, there were certain dominant philosophical concepts which imposed themselves. The theology of the Christian faith could not escape from its 'loving nurse', the Platonic philosophy, because there was no other which offered. On the whole, the

service which Platonism rendered to the formulation of the faith was of the greatest value, but the categories which it furnished were not wholly adequate. Today the task of theological reconstruction is doubly difficult because there is no generally accepted metaphysic or philosophy. The Christian thinker has first of all to choose between several possible views.

Clearly enough it would be hopeless to try to elaborate a doctrine of the Incarnation on the basis of any philosophy which rejected the conception of deity or denied, as the Logical Positivists do, the possibility of making significant statements of a religious kind. Further, it would seem unlikely that any philosophy which had no place for personality in the order of reality could be a starting point for any doctrine of the Incarnation, since, whatever else it may be, the Christian belief about Christ is that in Him the Personal God has revealed himself in a personal life. There have been systems of 'idealistic' philosophy which have, up to a point, seemed to offer a new approach to the doctrine of the Incarnation, and we owe much to the theologians of the Hegelian school, but it seems that any system of Absolute Idealism is bound to regard persons as not finally 'real' and thus to regard even the person of the Incarnate Lord as belonging to the world of appearance.

The restatement of the doctrine of Christ's Person must obviously take account of the modern knowledge of human personality. It is no exaggeration to say that the whole conception of person and personal experience has been transformed during the last hundred years. The advance of psychology, of physical research, and of reflection on the new data has placed personality in a fresh light. The researches of Freud, Jung, Adler, Rhine, Tyrrell, Price, Thouless, and many others have opened up new vistas in the study of human personality. One has only to think of such terms as 'the unconscious', 'the libido', 'telepathy', 'extra-sensory perception', which were unknown until quite recent times, to realize that the conception of personal experience has been indefinitely enlarged. No one, I think, would argue that these late discoveries and hypotheses have removed all mystery from personality; the contrary would be easier to maintain. The 'abyss of personality', to borrow St. Augustine's phrase, becomes more abysmal as we know more about it. Nevertheless, it is surprising that these modern insights have as yet had so little influence on the theology of the Incarnation. The question, for example, of the place of the libido in the person of Jesus cannot be evaded. In the last generation Dr. Sanday made a bold attempt to incorporate the 'subconscious' into the theory of the Person of Christ, basing his reconstruction on the work of F. W. Myers. The theory was put forward tentatively and was not well received by theologians. No doubt it was far too simple as Sanday presented it, and the suggestion that the divine nature in the Person of Jesus corresponded to the sub-conscious in us could not be worked out without doing violence both to the Christian faith and to psychological fact—nevertheless, Sanday was doing something which needs to be done. Can we hope to make clear our thesis that God was in the person Christ Jesus, still less maintain it as a reasonable belief for today, unless we take account of the new lights on personality?

The work of Christian theology is never completed. The advance of knowledge and the change of intellectual presuppositions require a constant re-thinking of the Gospel. Unfortunately the reaction against reason, which has

infected every side of our culture, has had a disastrous effect on religious thought. From different points of view, Protestant and Catholic, powerful voices have deprecated critical analysis and constructive restatement in the interests of 'faith' or 'obedience'. Consequently Christian thinking has very much headway to make up. The time has not yet come when we can begin to sum up the consequences of the new psychology for the doctrine of the Incarnation; that must wait for the future when, we may hope, the concepts of psychology have become more definite and theologians who believe that all truth is of God have arisen and considered them.

What follows, therefore, must be taken—or left!—as the conjecture of one mind groping for a solution which is only vaguely apprehended.

The chief difference between the modern way of thinking and that which can broadly be described as 'classical' is that modern thought attempts to be 'dynamic'. It is concerned with movement, growth, development. This has been forced upon it by the progress of natural science which more and more presents us with a physical universe in which there is no rest or permanence, not even an absolute space. Thus one of the ideas which has been of enormous importance in the history of thought—that of 'substance'—has been to a large extent discarded. For example, in modern physics, we find ourselves dealing not with 'things' but with 'events' and the uniformities which are discovered are not persisting things but regularities in events.

Among all the 'substances' with which thought formerly dealt none was more important than 'thinking substance', mind or the rational self. Here too, however, more dynamic concepts are required to do justice to what we know of the self. More fundamental than thinking is will, or that elementary form of the will which may be called 'conation'. A person, regarded as a being in time, is primarily a more or less coherent series of acts of desiring, striving, willing. It seems probable that this view of the essence of personality might lend itself to a statement of the incarnation which would avoid some of the ancient riddles.

A coherent will, as contrasted with an incoherent one, can be thought of as a moving 'pattern'. The relevance of this concept can be illustrated by thinking of the kind of prediction which is possible with regard to the actions of persons of formed character. We do not suppose that we can foresee the precise details of their actions; they may surprise us; but we do suppose that we can foresee the kind of actions with which they will respond to any given situation. We are sure that the actions will not be out of harmony with the pattern. They will not be a mere repetition of past acts: they will be new, yet of a piece with the old. The knowledge that we have of our friends is not knowledge of a fixed and changeless entity but of a pattern which constantly moves and develops while retaining an identity through all its phases. Now a pattern can be reproduced on any scale—it may be as wide as a constellation or as minute as an atom, while remaining the same pattern. In some such way we could think of the human will of Jesus as working out, on the limited scale of earthly existence, the same pattern as the divine will works out through all time and space.

The question, however, would still remain; how is this identity of the will of Jesus with the will of God to be understood? The uniqueness of the Christ

remains to be accounted for. In approaching the problem we must beware of interpreting uniqueness in a manner which goes beyond the teaching of the New Testament. There can be no question that the whole of the Apostolic teaching recorded in the New Testament agrees that Jesus Christ is unique, in the sense that no one else could occupy the place which He occupies or do the work which He does. Yet He is not unique in any sense which would put a gulf between Him and other men. St. Paul speaks of Him as 'the firstborn among many brethren' and the inaugurator of a new race of human beings who should be 'in Christ' and not 'in Adam'. The statement of the divine nature and cosmic significance of Jesus in the opening verses of St. John's Gospel is the highest point of the New Testament teaching. It is all the more worthy of note that the divine Logos who was made flesh in Jesus is explicitly stated to lighten every man. The divine thought or reason which dwells among men in the person of Jesus has not left any man entirely devoid of himself.

The doctrine which is so succinctly hinted in these pregnant verses of St. John has been the charter of Christian mysticism. That there is an eternal element in every person, or rather that the centre of every self is beyond time, has been, in various forms, a constantly recurring conviction of Christian masters of the spiritual life. This guiding thought of one type of religious experience has support from philosophy. The analysis of the self which proceeds on purely empirical lines has never succeeded in producing an account which satisfied the reason of those who reflect upon what is actually given in self-consciousness. The person and his activities of willing, knowing, and feeling cannot be dissolved into a succession of impressions tied together by no 'spiritual bond'. We cannot dispense with the ego. Reflection on what happens in fully-conscious willing and in the most thorough self-consciousness leads us to postulate 'a subject who is never object', a 'transcendental self' (the names which thinkers have chosen vary), some centre of consciousness, the ultimate knower and the originator of our deepest acts of will.

The wise man recognizes that of all the mysteries of this mysterious universe there is none greater than himself. He will be convinced that the attempt of Hume and others to conceive the self as merely a succession of 'impressions and ideas' without any active principle of organization or enduring centre is very far from the truth and, at the same time, he will be persuaded that the conception of the self as a 'substance' is hardly intelligible. At the centre of himself is an entity, an activity, a being—these words are all misleading—which is unknowable, in the sense that it cannot be interpreted, defined or described in terms of finite experience, but which, at the same time, is the most certainly real of all that we can conceive and without which there would be no systematic knowledge, no coherent will and no personality.

If this be the truth about human personality, we have at least the outline of a theory about the manner in which motions of grace, intuitions of reality, inspirations, manifest themselves in human life and experience. They come through the point of contact with the eternal which is at the centre of the self. There would be less difficulty in conceiving the Incarnation if we adopted this mystical and philosophical view of the person. Perhaps the approach to the problem of the Person of Christ through the ideas of grace and inspiration has not been common, and it does not readily occur to us to think of the Lord Jesus

as the supreme instance of the divinely inspired man or the person in whom the grace of God was always triumphant, yet both of these closely related thoughts are in the New Testament and, though we should need to guard against possible misunderstandings, they offer the most attractive line of thought for a modern interpretation of Jesus the Christ.

I will conclude by trying to say clearly and simply what I believe to be the essence of the matter. The primitive Church arose out of a prolonged and creative religious experience of which Jesus was the centre. From the beginning it was distinguished from all other religious groups, whether pagan or Jewish, by this attitude to Jesus. The creed of this original community was 'Jesus is Lord'. No need was felt at first for any further theological statement, for the simple phrase was interpreted by the religious reality which the convert found in the fellowship of the Church. 'The grace of the Lord Jesus Christ' was quite evidently powerful to save in the lives of men and women who, in accepting Him as Lord, had passed, as they themselves testified, from darkness to light and from death to life. That Christ was 'the power of God unto salvation' was proved by the transformation of many individuals. The dogma of the Incarnation was defined largely as a result of controversies and because it was felt that certain erroneous doctrines were dangerous to the religion of the Gospel. The definition of the dogma was perhaps a misfortune, but, given the situation in which the Nicene Creed came into existence, nothing else was really possible. It was unfortunate again that the philosophical terms and presuppositions which were available were in some respects inadequate, but once more we have to confess that to use them was the only way. It would be very unwise to discard the classical statement of the doctrine in the Nicene Creed, which has the authority of the undivided Church behind it until we have some other statement which can claim equal authority and greater intelligibility, but it would be no less unwise to take these formulations as final, while to repeat them without any attempt to understand them is superstition. Christ challenges the intellect just as he challenges the conscience of every generation.

But, above all, the truth must be apprehended that the theology is of no value without the religious experience from which it springs. The doctrine of the atonement, of the Work of Christ, has never been crystallized into a formula and there is no dogma which can claim the authority of the undivided Church. All Christians will confess that Christ is the author of their salvation, the Redeemer, but there are many ways in which the meaning of Christ's redeeming power has been explained. The power of the Christ to redeem from sin does not depend upon belief in a doctrine of the atonement and many a man has known what salvation through Christ means who has never heard of the doctrine. So the reality of the Christian fact does not depend on the coherence of the Christian theory. That may change as the forms of thought change; it may become more adequate with the co-operation of many minds; but the Person of Christ disclosed in the New Testament and apprehended in spiritual experience through faith remains the same yesterday, today and for ever.

W. R. MATTHEWS

SCIENTIFIC THINKING AND RELIGIOUS EXPERIENCE

(Continued from page 211, July 1950)

WE MUST take into account as a fundamental fact that human nature will not be satisfied without the expression of emotion and action based on some measure of contact with the unseen ground of our existence.

Otto stresses a unique element in our experience, continuous from grisly demonic horror in the presence of the *felt* unseen, to awe in the Presence of the Unspeakably Holy, as running throughout our religious experience. Though his emphasis on the irrational and wholly other (like all over-simplifications of so complex an experience as the religion of man) tends to ignore other elements equally essential to any mature religion, Otto has done us a great service in bringing to the fore this corrective to our modern tendency *to deify our rationality at the expense of the integrity of human personality*, which includes affective elements, impervious to reason, yet with a relevance essential to the harmonious development of the individual, as well as to healthy communal life. *Mysterium tremendum, mysterium fascinans*, expresses a deep religious attitude. Jung also stresses the importance of harmony between these deep-seated affective tendencies and our conscious aims and ideals. Their divergence on the basis of a narrow intellectualism, which represses the life of feeling as childish, is responsible for many nervous troubles, and for Jung, the problem of their cure is ultimately a religious one.

Whitehead points out that experience includes 'brute alogical fact'. Life is always wider than logic. Two and two only equals four in the realm of mathematical abstraction. The moment actuality is involved an irreducible surd is introduced and unless insight can take this logically (but not necessarily intuitively) irrational element into account, prediction is always contradicted by experience.

It may be logically absurd to suggest that feeling is the warp that produces the curvature of space-time responsible for material existence:¹ but it is less absurd than suggesting that the fundamental reality on which this phenomenal world is based, or of which it is the expression, riddled as it is with distortions of logical procedure and mathematical inconsistencies, is a passionless mathematician. Feeling must be as integral a part of fundamental or ultimate reality as it is of the universe in which feeling, creative or destructive, in terms of love or hate, is the great dynamic. God as Father is a more adequate symbol for this than God as a mathematician: though the relation of this Eternal ultimate reality to all that exists involves mathematical elements throughout. Love may not be exhaustively expressed by an equation, but it cannot exist apart from a nexus of interrelations which *can* be expressed in mathematical symbols. We falsify reality by ignoring the mathematical and therefore *inevitable* element in experience as much as by ignoring the qualitative apprehension of that

¹ This is not meant to be taken as a 'scientific' explanation—it is only an illustration to emphasize the absurdity of materialism.

fundamental order which is perceived as beauty, goodness, or love. Reality is neither quantitative nor qualitative in isolation: but *both are aspects of a universal continuum, within which all that has been, is, or can be, is vitally interrelated.*

In the *Structure of Religious Experience*, Professor Macmurray works out very clearly the fundamental nature of the facts of experience on which religion is based. He points out that in science, utility dominates—we seek to control and use the forces of nature by insight and understanding; whereas in art, intrinsic values matter most. We appreciate, contemplate, and enjoy things for themselves. But these two attitudes toward experience, both select from the world of everyday experience, and are transcended in a third attitude which combines both, in which personal relations dominate or are central. This sphere, according to Professor Macmurray, is the sphere of religion.

When we organize our whole life so that personal relations are genuinely central, so that, in fact, we love our neighbour as ourselves and use our scientific thinking for the common good and dedicate our sense of beauty to bring it within the reach of all, we are living in touch with reality on the level of religion.

It is true as Macmurray says, that science, art, and religion alike claim the whole universe as their field—but it is as if out of this whole experience there are three centres of interest round which science, art, and religion develop respectively. But, as he says, *religion is more comprehensive because it includes ourselves and our interrelations with each other, which transcend and transform the natural world considered independently of personal purposes.*

Because personal relations, while actually inescapable, are yet the most difficult to adjust adequately, religion often falls below its high estate, and concentrates on tradition or ceremonial, becoming meticulous to fulfil the law, while leaving genuine human needs unsatisfied. Christ was crucified because He put human needs before tradition, because He healed on the Sabbath, for example; because He showed that love for God, which was not expressed in the service of our fellow men, was not love of the real God He called Father; because He could take little children and say 'of such is the kingdom of Heaven' and could tell an elder of the Church of His day, a specialist in religion in the most religious nation, that he must be *born again* before he could even *see* the Kingdom of God; because He could say the publicans and harlots would go into the kingdom of heaven before the self-righteous superior Pharisee; because He spoke in terms of our common humanity, that made the needs of each one of us, however lowly, the concern of Almighty God, irrespective of rank or creed (witness the parable of the Good Samaritan); because He lived and worked within the common round of human toil, and instead of claiming exemption as leader, washed the feet of His disciples, which each was too proud to do for the other. In all this He showed that in meeting real human needs, in doing the 'job that is under our nose, with the tools that come to our hand', we find ourselves in fellowship with Christ, who was always moved to compassion by the sufferings of others; and find through this we are fellow workers with God, within the sphere of true religion.

Professor Macmurray points out the combination of utilitarian and intrinsic valuation in religion. He says: 'Religion has always been associated with the need that men have felt for help and assistance, and part of the religious

attitude has always looked upon religion as a practical means of achieving its end. But it is equally certain that religion has always looked upon its activities as important in themselves, imbued with an intrinsic value of their own. Primitive religious ceremonial is both an expression of the sense of beauty and a means of securing the welfare of the tribe. The Lord who is to be worshipped in the beauty of holiness is also a very present help in time of trouble. Christianity has always insisted on the absolute intrinsic value of the individual. But it has also equally insisted that his value lies in doing the will of God and making himself the instrument of a divine purpose.²

The field of religious experience is the sphere of personal relations. Where these are the centre of valuation, we ask, not how much money will this produce, but what quality of manhood will it develop, what range of fellowship will it make possible? We then inevitably come into contact with God on the level of personality and cannot rest content with a God who is *less* than personal. We may bow defiantly before a god of force: we can worship a God who loves. And in proportion as our worship is sincere, we combine the paradoxes we mentioned previously. For an apprehension of God, worshipped spontaneously, as the Supreme Value, brings with it a measure of communion which is the help in time of trouble and involves a realization of fellowship which fulfils the will of God for man.

The task of religion, as Professor Macmurray puts it, is the realization of fellowship. *The religious activity of the self is its effort to enter into Communion with the Other.*

Whitehead in his Lowell Lectures said: 'Religion is what the individual does with his solitariness.'³ I would prefer to say religion is what we make of our experience in common. The measure of the maturity of our religion is not the number of hours we can spend on our knees, but the width and depth of the range of our understanding and sympathy with men and women of different cultures, capacities, and training. The range of our friendships, which can cut through differences of class prejudice and behaviour and rejoice in our common humanity with those of different races and creeds, is the test in *life* of the reality of our religion. But the achieving of a wide community of interest is no easy thing. It can only be achieved through a fuller realization of the form of our own religion, the sharing more deeply in the cultural and national level of life; not by ignoring differences, not by levelling-down can true fellowship come, but by a deepening of our own personal life in relation to the form and structure of the society in which we live until its universal aspect *permeates* its particular mode of expression. From the universal and eternal fellowship with the God who is Father of all we can then enter into fellowship with others whose ways of approach have been so different that any attempt at communion on a lower level would inevitably clash. Once again the insight of Christ is seen to be supreme. It is necessary to 'love God with all our hearts, minds, and strength' before we can 'love our neighbour as ourself'. It is within this sphere of personal relationships that religion moves; and where it is central, with the Supreme Personality of God as the ground of our common relationships with others, we may hope to use our scientific thinking to fulfil the Gospel command to preach the Gospel and heal the sick more effectively than has yet been possible.

² *Structure of Religious Experience*, p. 34.

³ *Religion in the Making*, p. 6.

Scientific thinking, though it abstracts certain aspects of experience, is tested throughout by its correspondence with experience. When once it ceases to bring its abstractions and hypotheses to the test of experiment and experience, it ceases to be scientific thinking and becomes speculative.

So with religious experience. *Unless it illumines and is effective within the sphere of personal life and history, individual and racial, it fails to be religious.* Any speculations as to future life in another world that are not based upon genuine insight into experience and actuality in this life are doomed to an illusory existence within the mind of the dreamer who postulates them, because he has neither the courage nor the sincerity to find God within the everyday life of the world in which we are so placed that we may learn to know and love God as He is, and not as our childish phantasies may desire Him to be.

It is true that our ideas of God are inadequate and fall short of the Reality. Our ideas may be only symbolical, but the symbols refer to that which is real and the very ground from which our symbolism springs.⁴

Hence such symbolism may be dynamic, bridging the gulf between the finite and the infinite, so that they are not wholly and antithetically separated, but fall within a unitary comprehension; such dynamic symbolism, for example, as that of the Kingdom of God, allows for the dependence of created being and the supremacy of God, in perfect harmony. Such symbolism Plato considered to be essential to express the nature of ultimate realities, beyond the grasp of the discursive intellect. For him, effective symbolism, while it could not express exhaustively the nature of reality involved, was essentially related to it and thus was a medium for revelation. If Plato had lived after Christ and carried this idea farther, in the light of personality, he would have found in the Incarnation the completion of the process of symbolism, through which the Divine Mind revealed itself at last as perfectly personal. The religious response to Reality would then find its fulfilment in communion with the Christ, who had thus embodied the symbol in *life*, and not merely in *thought*, thus uniting men with the God to whom they owed their origin.

A. GRAHAM IKIN

⁴ 'But the fact that the conception (i.e. of God) does work in human experience, that it does enable men to conform to the requirements of the world in which they are placed and to achieve fuller life, is evidence for the contention that the conception is not an illusion, but that however inadequate it may be it is at least symbolical of ultimate Reality.' Wright's *Philosophy of Religion*, p. 357.

THE END OF FOREIGN MISSIONS?

THE METHODIST CHURCH regards its missionary work overseas as an integral part of the Church's witness and service. The ideal is that every Methodist should be an interested and contributing participant in this work. Over the years a vast organization has grown up, involving the maintenance and support of almost six hundred missionaries, and with an annual budget of over half a million pounds. Post-war inflation has resulted in an appeal for still larger contributions, if the work already in existence is to be maintained. At the same time we are faced with an entirely new and unprecedented situation. In large areas where our missionary work is carried on, problems and difficulties have arisen which threaten the very existence of our work. The World Council of Churches has come into existence, and everywhere is manifest a desire for closer co-operation. In some cases, among the younger Churches, unions have been either consummated or are in process of negotiation: and the creation of such 'united Churches' must have serious repercussions upon the future policies and methods of missionary societies in Europe and America.

It is, therefore, imperative that there should be free and frank discussion of the policies which are guiding and governing our missionary service overseas, and it is our hope that this article will stimulate discussion of some of the wider issues involved. There are bound to be differences of conviction as to the best way to advance the cause of Christ in a world that is shaping into new patterns, and constructive criticism of the present policies and trends of our missionary work can do nothing but good.

The modern missionary movement, which began in the closing decades of the eighteenth century, was in some respects a new phenomenon. From the time of St. Paul onward, Christian missionaries had left their native land to preach the Good News of Christ to men of alien race and culture. Yet such missionaries did not need to be governed, guided, and supported throughout life by the churches from which they went forth. Once established in the land of their adoption, it was not difficult for them to support themselves by their own labours, or to find their support and the money necessary for the development of their work from the new Christian communities which they had founded. For, economically, their standards of living were not very much different from those of the people to whom they ministered. Remote as they often were from the 'sending' church, it is doubtful if they received much financial assistance from their home country, apart from the initial contributions which enabled them to set forth. Beyond laying down the general lines of policy, there could be little direction of their work from 'headquarters'.

At the end of the eighteenth century, and increasingly throughout the nineteenth century, conditions were entirely different. So the peculiar lines of growth and development of the modern missionary enterprise were conditioned by a situation unique in Christian history. The countries which sent out missionaries were industrially, economically, and politically far in advance of the countries to which the missionaries were sent, and, generally speaking, they felt themselves to be immensely superior from a cultural standpoint.

The missionary, therefore, went out to live and work among a people so economically backward according to his standards that, in all but the most exceptional cases, he was forced to lean for his life-long support on his missionary society in the homeland, and accept from it the funds necessary to develop and maintain his work.

The missionary to Africa and to Eastern lands saw poverty and need—need which often appalled him. As he strove to meet that need he felt increasingly that the preaching of the Gospel must be backed up by the building of churches, schools, hospitals, and similar institutions, and that more, and yet more missionary workers must be sent out to staff them.

The nineteenth-century missionary usually envisaged the needs of his environment in terms of what was familiar in his own land. The natives must have churches, schools, hospitals, hymn-books, Bibles similar to those that were already doing such fine work in Europe and America. But to give them these blessings demanded money, and yet more money. In the expanding years of that century the appeals of the missionaries did not go unheeded. When the information was given and the need realized, the money was forthcoming. Thus there grew up, in all parts of the mission field, a missionary work which could not possibly be supported by the local Christian communities. In some cases, particularly in rural areas, the 'plant' was so extensive that there was little hope of the local church ever being able to finance and run it out of its own resources.

The pioneer missionary gradually gave place to the team of workers, working together in a missionary district, and composed of evangelists, pastors, teachers, doctors, and nurses. Whilst answerable to the Church or society which sent them forth, this team of workers together decided policy, controlled the work, and built up an ever-growing and expanding 'Mission'. In all this they were assisted by native workers whom they themselves had trained. Those native workers were, in the first place, subordinate to and under the direction of the missionaries. They were helpers and assistants. Though gradually a measure of local support was fostered, and was increasingly forthcoming in the case of schools and hospitals, which could rely on the fees from their wealthier clients, the main burden of support for the work still fell upon the sending-societies in Europe and America.

With the twentieth century great changes began to take place, changes which, as it seems to the writer, will before long lead to the disappearance of Foreign Missions as we have known them.

The change in our political thinking in regard to colonial and so-called backward peoples was reflected in the attitude of the Churches and their missionaries. Increasingly it was realized that the native Christians must be trained and guided toward responsible government and control of their own churches. At the same time, in many an Eastern country there was growing up a sturdy nationalism, a spirit of independence, an intolerance and resentment of any foreign interference or domination. Native Christian leaders began to urge the need for an indigenous Church, self-supporting, self-governing, and self-propagating. Wise leaders on both sides recognized that the process of transferring control from the 'Mission' to the 'Native' church would take considerable time; whilst it was believed that the problem of self-support would

be solved by careful planning, training suitable workers, educating the Church members and the rapid expansion of the Church that would result from a forward movement in evangelism.

This transfer of control to native leadership has, in some cases, been rapid. It has often been accompanied by heartache, misunderstanding, and even bitterness. Some older missionaries were unable to adapt themselves to new conditions. Different societies tried to solve the new relationship of missionary to indigenous church in different ways. In some societies the Mission continued to exist alongside the church, and the functions, scope, and work of each body was carefully defined. In other societies the mission as such became a part of the church, the 'Missionaries' Meeting' dealing only with such matters as seemed to be the peculiar province of missionaries, and, in other matters, the missionary took his place alongside the native leaders. The missionary now became subject to a dual control. He was regarded, on the one hand, as a co-worker in equal partnership with his native colleagues, under the direction of the Conference or Synod of the native church; but, on the other hand, he was under the control and direction of the sending body. His missionary headquarters in London or New York still accepted full responsibility for his stipend, his allowances, his furloughs; and expected from him satisfactory reports of his work. The old adage, 'Whoever pays the piper calls the tune', was, in this respect, proved only too true. It is doubtful if any missionary, subjected to this dual control, can ever become, fully and completely, a sharer in the life of the native church, and a co-partner in its tribulations.

Already, before the Second World War, we had dropped the word 'foreign' from our missionary vocabulary. We had changed our name to 'Overseas Missions'. We felt that we could not be 'foreigners' in the Church of Jesus Christ, wherever that Church might be. The Church was one, and worldwide, and all within it were brethren. And you cannot think of a beloved brother as a foreigner. So long as a missionary continued to be thought of as a foreigner by those among whom he worked, and so long as his society was a foreign society, he was, to that extent, failing in his influence. Chinese, Indians, Africans, West Indians, and British, were all brethren together in Christ, and as a Church they were seeking, in Christ's name, to share their good things with one another.

But still we call our work overseas a 'mission', and in that word there is an emphasis which is no longer suited to the times in which we live, and the kind of contribution we still hope to make among the younger Churches.

It is interesting how words which seem perfectly suitable at one time seem later to carry with them associations which make it desirable to find some other term to take their place. The words 'foreign, pagan, heathen, native, barbarian' are all good words in themselves, but are all objectionable and arouse resentment when used in certain connexions.

The word 'mission' implies a sending forth, a commission by some parent body. When we speak of 'foreign missions' or 'overseas missions', behind our understanding of those phrases there lies the idea that the ultimate control of the missionary is in the Church or society which sent him forth. Overseas missions are *our* missions in other lands, financed by us, supported by us, and, in the last resort, controlled by us. They are not independent and

autonomous churches to which we lovingly, in Christ, send gifts and services. The Missionary Society not only recruits, trains and sends out a missionary, but is responsible thereafter for his support, and, in the control and direction of his ministry is, under an English Conference, the final authority. The Missionary Society pays his stipend, receives his reports. As a Missionary Society it has gradually developed in many places a large 'plant'—churches, schools, hospitals, houses—often totally unrelated to the simpler economy of the native peoples. The Missionary Society, burdened with the annual support and upkeep of this 'plant', naturally feels that it must have a major voice, often through its representatives, in policies which may involve serious financial commitments.

It is time, we believe, that this state of affairs should be brought to an end as speedily as possible. It is time that we ceased to think of the work as **OUR** work in China, India, or Africa, and of **OUR** missionary society as being responsible for that work. It is time that we recognized that, in the World Church, the churches which were first brought into existence by our missions must become entirely autonomous, completely independent of any Mission House control. It is time, we believe, that there should be a new strategy for our work overseas, and that the machinery of our overseas missionary work should be completely overhauled. In some countries Communism or an acute form of Nationalism have completely wiped out effective missionary work on the old lines. It is time that our Methodist Church considered its policy of Christian evangelism and service in lands overseas in relation to the actual world situation, instead of asking our people to give increasing financial support to work which, in some aspects, is completely out of harmony with the modern situation.

No longer should we think in terms of Foreign Missions, or Overseas Missions, but in terms of a World Church to which we, as a large, vigorous, influential, and comparatively wealthy section, have the privilege of contributing in money, personnel, and service. The policy of our Church should be to end as quickly as possible Methodist Missions as such. In saying that, let us not be misunderstood. It does not mean the giving up of our responsibility either for our share in the evangelization of the world, or for the loving Christian service, which can and should be done among nationals of other countries and Christian communities in other lands, by men and women from our churches who are called and trained for that work.

We are no longer justified in controlling and directing Christian work in China, India, and Africa from London. The Christian enterprise in China should be directed by a properly constituted Christian body (or bodies) inside China, and such a body should have complete control over all money, personnel, institutions, and so on, within its scope. Whatever assistance, advice, or counsel we, as an older Church, give, should be freely and unconditionally offered, and as freely accepted.

We have heard a good deal about devolution in recent years. Either the process of devolution has gone too far already or it has not gone far enough. Either send out a missionary team to do a specific piece of work which you plan, control, and support, or else recruit, train, and send out workers to serve in independent and autonomous churches. Dual control can only be a

temporary expedient, and in practice it raises many problems, creates friction and suspicion, and leads to the charge of imperialism in religion.

What should be our present aim in fulfilling our call to serve and witness in the World Church? We should, of course, bear in mind the kind of world into which the servants of Christ will go. The control of tremendous areas of the so-called mission field is, and is likely to be for some time, in the hands of Communist, Totalitarian, or extreme Nationalist governments, which view with deep suspicion the present missionary work, and which seriously control it, curtail it, or even forbid it absolutely. Our aim, therefore, should be to support by every means within our power indigenous Christian churches, and particularly those which have grown up to maturity through our own missionary efforts in the past. But in rendering this support, financial and otherwise, we must see that there is no attempt at interference by us with their liberty of action, and no attempt to control, either directly or indirectly, their policies and lines of development. This will demand from our Church a deep and loving trust; faith that, under the inspiration and guidance of the Holy Spirit, the younger Churches will use what we send them, both of money and personnel, wisely, justly, and with every care for the advancement of Christ's kingdom in their midst. Whilst refusing to exercise any control over our gifts of money and personnel to the younger Churches, we must ever be ready, through the World Council of Churches, to share our experience and proffer whatever help and advice is asked for.

The process of devolution should be speeded up by the abolition, as soon as possible, of the posts of Field Secretaries in the Mission House. The responsible bodies overseas in China, India, Africa, and the West Indies, whether Conference, Inter-District Council, or Synod, should be given complete control over the designation, appointment, and payment of all workers within their own region, whether missionary or native. As we are morally committed to the support of missionaries already on the field, and the work and institutions which we have brought into existence, an annual grant should be sent out to the Church body responsible for work in any particular region. But that annual grant should become progressively less. Every effort should be made to fit the Christian work and the Christian workers into the economy of the district in which they work. Institutions of which there is no reasonable hope of their ever becoming supported entirely by the Church and people of the area should be ruthlessly scrapped. Doctors, teachers, and nurses should be given every encouragement to find their salaries from the institutions they serve. For an interim period, it might be necessary for the Mission House representative to take over the duties at present assigned to the Field Secretary for that region; but it should only be for an interim period. Any missionary who felt that he could not face the possible insecurity and financial difficulty involved in turning over all financial responsibility to the native Church should be reabsorbed into the home work.

It is surely an anomaly that there are still districts overseas where the greater part of the stipends of native pastors, evangelists, and catechists comes, through the Mission House, from funds raised by our churches in England. Moreover, so long as the present system continues, that financial burden upon our home churches will continue. All carefully worked-out schemes for increasing

self-support and decreasing grants will fail, as they have failed again and again, because we have failed to relate the financing of our churches and workers overseas to the economic life of the communities in which they work. As J. Merle Davis writes in the *International Review of Missions*:¹ 'Christian Missions have brought an expensive type of church and way of life to underprivileged people. The Western Church is geared to a high standard of living and to a Middle-Class economy. Missions have planted this church, with its costly institutions, in subsistence economy societies in which there is hardly a middle class. A church is to be built, organized, and operated; a trained pastor and family to be supported; school fees, books, better clothing, more food, more amenities, and contacts with the outer world; in short, a higher standard of living is required. The villagers live close to the land. Their income is mostly in kind; they handle little cash. There is no place in the community for a non-productive family. A village church to be enduring and indigenous must be a land-based church and must fit into a land economy.' We have made many of our churches on the mission field into dependent churches, dependent too much on our funds, our guidance, and our control. That spirit of dependence has sapped their vitality. It has taken away the independence, the struggle, the facing of obstacles and difficulties, which is their right. It has made them seem to be 'foreign' institutions, unrelated to the native life and economy.

It looks as though the missionary of the future, in many of the lands to which missionaries have been sent, will have to face an entirely new situation. He will have to be 'economically' productive. That is, he will have to do work which the state recognizes as of value to the community; and that may not include the work of pastor and evangelist. He may even be forbidden to preach and teach the Christian religion. Native Christians may be permitted to do work which is denied to him, for as a 'foreigner' from a 'capitalist' country he may be looked upon with grave suspicion, and his work seriously circumscribed. Yet we must not forget that the life and witness of a Christian man, the influence of a Christian home, and the personal contacts of daily life are in themselves the most effective Christian service. It is, therefore, essential that we, as a Church, should be actively training and recruiting the missionaries of the future. In this modern world it is extremely unlikely that any country can ring itself round and close itself entirely to all contacts with the outside world. Even the most rigorously controlled Communist countries will still need to trade with our country, and will have to admit our traders and business men, our technicians, consular officials, and so on, to live and work in their lands. Furthermore, for many years to come, it is probable that doctors, nurses, and university teachers as well as trained experts will be welcomed and encouraged. It should, then, be our definite policy to put before our young Christians at home the urgent need for this new kind of missionary service overseas; to encourage them to learn some trade or profession by which they can support themselves; and, through the World Council of Churches, to link them up with the Church in the country to which they go. It may even be necessary, to some extent, to underwrite their contracts.

Far more should be done, and far more money spent in inviting to this land

¹ October 1949, p. 409.

and to the fellowship of our Church and our Christian homes selected Christian students and church leaders of other lands. The kind of work for which Miss Porter has been seconded should be recognized as an extremely useful and fruitful missionary work. Missionary funds should be diverted to promote Christian contacts and work among overseas students in our principal universities, and in the large factories which employ or train foreign workers.

It should be a considerable part of our missionary work to finance and arrange the visits of distinguished church leaders, theologians, preachers, and even selected circuit ministers to the lands where our Church has carried on missionary work for so long. Our Church is in duty bound to give to the younger Churches the best we have, and such men, by lecturing, by meeting selected groups for free discussion, by their encouragement and Christian vision, could bring to the younger Churches a vital sense of our oneness in Christ.

Finally, we should ever be seeking closer co-operation in all Christian work and witness with other communions. We should heartily rejoice in every effort in India, Burma, China, or Africa toward closer co-operation, and while recognizing that Methodism in Britain, in America, and in the Dominions, where it has historic roots, has a distinctive role and contributions to make to the World Church, we should be equally ready to recognize that, among the younger Churches those roots do not go so deep: and there is a real and even poignant desire for such union of the churches in those lands as shall make their united witness effective against the paganism and materialism by which they are surrounded. Let us, as a Church, vigorously support and staunchly advocate the World Council of Churches, and encourage by every means within our power every worthy attempt at Christian union.

D. HOWARD SMITH

KEATS ON THE MOUNT OF TRANSFIGURATION

THOUGH ecstasy was not unfamiliar to him, John Keats would doubtless have been surprised to find himself on the Mount of Transfiguration. His deepest ecstatic experience came from hearing the song of a nightingale in an English wood,

*some melodious plot
Of beechen green, and shadows numberless.*

To correct his ecstatic experience in the 'forest dim' he needed what he never had in reality or imagination, the ecstatic experience of the mountain.

Keats's vision in the forest is recounted for us in his 'Ode to a Nightingale'. The experience of the disciples on the mountain has also been recounted in verse, in the hymn by Dean Stanley:

*Lord! it is good for us to be
High on the mountain here with Thee. . . .*

No one would suggest that the Dean's hymn is a match for Keats's poem in poetic power, but one unusual and archaic word found in both forms a link between them and suggests a comparison of the experiences of the poet and the apostles which is relevant to our own day.

The word is 'darkling', which means 'in the dark'.

*Darkling I listen; and, for many a time
I have been half in love with easeful Death,*

writes Keats; but while he uses the word with accuracy and felicity, Dean Stanley's use of it is more tautological than magical:

*Lord! it is good for us to be
Here on the holy mount with Thee,
When darkling in the depths of night,
When dazzled with excess of light,
We bow before the heavenly voice
Which bids bewildered souls rejoice. . . .*

The use of the word by the Dean is doubtless fortuitous. It would be tempting to argue that here we have an echo of the greater poem. To pursue that thought would require research beyond the scope of the library that is at the moment available to me; however, the Dean's account of his aim in the hymn ('to combine, as far as possible, the various thoughts connected with the scene') would seem to preclude the suggestion that in writing he had the 'Ode to a Nightingale' in mind. But that he made a comparison more effective than he realized it is my purpose to argue.

I

(a) Keats, hearing the nightingale's song, is transported with happiness. He feels the joy in life that is expressed in the tumbling cascade of notes, which in themselves gather up all the delight and fulfilment of summer. The joy which

the song expresses is untrammelled and undefiled by the pain and misery which are inseparable from man's life, anguish to which he was no stranger and which found its ultimate expression in death:

*The weariness, the fever, and the fret,
Here, where men sit and hear each other groan;
Where palsy shakes a few, sad, last grey hairs,
Where youth grows pale, and spectre-thin and dies;
Where but to think is to be full of sorrow
And leaden-eyed despairs;
Where Beauty cannot keep her lustrous eyes
Or new Love pine at them beyond to-morrow.*

He felt the insufferable agony of the inevitable fate of beauty and youth, made for him more poignant in that he, so sensitive to beauty, with the promise of his youth unfulfilled, was already under sentence of death. To leave it all, to forget, to live in the world that the bird knew, fragrant, full of song, radiant with summer—there was a consummation of life and not a denial of its essential meaning. He longed to be 'out of the body', released from the mutability of living, even the memory of sorrow quite annihilated.

The experience of the disciples on the mountain too, had the sorrow of the world as its background. In the company of Jesus they had met disease and suffering, the leper, the demoniac, the palsied and the blind. They had seen the sorrow of Jairus on the death of his daughter; they had looked at the wistful crowd, sheep without a shepherd; in the tax-gatherers and the prostitutes they had seen the greed, the cruelty, and the lust of the world; the waves of man's hatred had swept close to them in the resolve of the Jews to get rid of Jesus. Even as they knelt entranced on the slopes of the mountain, a distracted father stood at the foot pleading with the other disciples for the healing they could not give to his epileptic son. On the mountain Peter and his companions were remote from the world of men. Remote, yet still a part of it, for Jesus was there, and with him were Moses and Elijah, and all the suffering and sorrow and sin of the world, for they 'spake of His decease which He was about to accomplish at Jerusalem'.

(b) The world to which the poet flies 'on the viewless wings of Poesy' is a dim shadowy world:

*here there is no light,
Save what from heaven is with the breezes blown
Through verdurous glooms and winding mossy ways.*

The air is filled with the perfume of flowers, till the senses are drugged with their sweetness; the song of the nightingale thrills above the murmuring of the bees sipping the 'dewy wine' of the wild roses. It is a very ancient world of sense and sound.

In contrast with this, the Transfiguration took place 'on a high mountain'. It may have been Tabor or one of the spurs of Hermon: the exact location is of little consequence. It was a mountain and a mountain must be climbed. To reach the top requires effort and the air at the top invigorates.

Mountains and high places seem to have had a peculiar attraction for Jesus. He grew to manhood in a hilly country rising in steps to the Lebanons. 'As the supports of a great oak run up above ground, so the gradual hills of Galilee rise from Esdraelon and Jordan and the Phoenician coast, upon that northern mountain. Not Lebanon, however, but the opposite range of Hermon dominates the view. Among his roots Lebanon is out of sight; whereas that long, glistening ridge, standing aloof, always brings the eye back to itself.'¹ He chose His disciples on a mountain, and after the resurrection they met Him once more 'on the mountain where Jesus had appointed them'.

All this would be irrelevant if it did not symbolize something in Jesus Himself, a quality of spirit, a life open to the winds of heaven. The haunted shadows of ancient woods are not His element. He could watch the birds on the wing and enjoy the beauty of the lilies, but in Him there is nothing languorous, nothing drugged. He faced life with clear eyes, and He would have His disciples one with Him in the invigorating fellowship of the mountains. Its effect on them our hymn expresses:

*Here, where the apostle's heart of rock
Is nerved against temptation's shock;
Here, where the son of thunder learns
The thought that breathes, the word that burns;
Here, where on eagle's wings we move
With him² whost last, best word is love.*

Dean Stanley is right in finding in the eagle the appropriate symbol of the Christian ecstasy. And while the arches of the trees left Keats in shadowy darkness lit by the fitful gleam of the moon, on the mountain the darkness of night was made 'irradiant with a light divine'.

(c) To leave the world unseen and find ecstasy in the drugged darkness of the forest can have no other issue than Nirvana, and this Keats clearly recognizes. One of our modern poets, Sidney Keyes, wrote in his diary:

The Romantics raised a spectre they could not lay; it was, broadly speaking, death as a part of life, conceived in terms of sensual imagery. To the Middle Ages and the Elizabethans, death was merely the Leveller; to the seventeenth century, a metaphysical problem; to the eighteenth century, the end of life. The Romantics tried to think of it as a state of existence. . . . By the later nineteenth century and up to our own time it had resulted in a clearly apparent *Death Wish*, as the only solution to the problem—since the solution must come in sensual terms.

The Ode expresses the *Death Wish* of the Romantics in words and images of which the felicity disguises the decadence of the desire. The bird's song has become a narcotic; drink deeply enough of it and you die.

To be 'in love with easeful death' is only possible by denying life. How far the Romantics like the moderns who express the same sentiment were influenced by the years of war they passed through is not at the moment my concern.

¹ G. A. Smith: *Historical Geography*, p. 419.

² A curious error crept into the 1933 *Hymnbook* in the giving to this word of a capital letter. The reference is not to Jesus, but to John.

³ Quoted by Michael Meyer in his Introduction to *The Collected Poems of Sidney Keyes*.

But for Keats Death is a lover to be wooed; Death is 'rich', satisfying all desire; Death comes with gentleness and completes life.

*Now more than ever seems it rich to die,
To cease upon the midnight with no pain,
While thou art pouring forth thy soul abroad
In such an ecstasy!
Still wouldest thou sing, and I have ears in vain—
To thy high requiem become a sod.*

But the vision of the Mount of Transfiguration, though death is present, shows it neither as a friend nor an enemy, but as an irrelevancy. Since God is not the God of the dead, but of the living, 'there appeared Moses and Elijah talking with Him'. The shadow of the Cross falls on the mountain, but it does not bring gloom and despair. Through death Christ will pass to His triumph. For Him there will be no taking into the air of His quiet breath; instead it will be agony and shame; but beyond it is the new wine of the heavenly kingdom, and in His death many will find life.

The disciples did not learn this once and for ever on the mountain; but only after their experience there could Jesus even begin to talk to them of His death and resurrection. Their experience pointed beyond itself to the life of which it was a promise, and revealed a love which death could not quench.

*Then shall they know, they that love Him,
How all their pain is good;
And death itself cannot unbind
Their happy brotherhood.*

(d) The immortality that Keats knows is that of the song of a bird, the same song sung by all the nightingales through all the generations, awakening in those who hear nostalgic longings and a sense of the beauty and mystery of life, and by its immutability making more poignant the impermanence of those who hear it. And the word 'forlorn' which calls him back from the world of his imaginative vision to the reality of sorrow is his final commentary on life. The bird's song fades; he is left with himself, his desires, his pain, and the unanswered question: Is life real or is it a dream?

The disciples on the mountain also saw their vision fade, leaving them under the stars. But Jesus had not faded; nor did the conviction fade that in Him was all they needed to know of God the Father and the love which linked man to God through the Son. They walked down the mountain slopes, back to the suffering and despair of their own familiar world and to the shattering of their earthly ambitions and national aspirations. In the turmoil of those days they might well have been overwhelmed; but Jesus was with them, 'the same yesterday, today and for ever', and life with Him was life indeed.

II

In his commentary on the 'Golden Treasury',⁴ E. Greening Lamborn remarks on Keats's *Ode* that 'Keats, unlike the greatest poets, had no hope of this

⁴ *Poetic Values*.

world and sought in poetry merely an escape from it'. There can be little doubt that this judgement sums up the attitude to life of many people today. They have 'no hope of this world' and they seek, not in poetry but in other ways, 'merely an escape from it'.

It may be partly caused by the general mechanization of life which ties a man or woman down to an imperturbable, relentless machine for so many hours of the day; it may be partly due to the imminence of death, during an uneasy peace, from new and monstrous weapons of war; it may be partly the overwhelming problems of world reorganization which the war has left as a legacy. Whatever the reasons, the wish to escape is there.

It is easier to escape from life than to live. In its most extreme form the urge to escape is seen in a complete mental breakdown, when those so afflicted 'finally cut themselves off entirely from all adjustment to real life by entering into an imaginary world of their own'. But escape can also be found by more normal people through drugs or drink, through jazz or 'jive'. For a large majority it is found in the hypnosis of the cinema or the seductive sentimentality of the popular song. During the war many men, bored with or afraid of the immediate moment, found relief in imaginatively living over again the enjoyed past or dreaming hopefully of an imagined future. We are all liable to become victims of the desire to evade reality. But that way madness lies.

No world of the imagination is a fitting resting-place for any man, made in the image of God. Call the world 'a vale of tears' or 'a vale of soul-making' as you like, it can only be lived in by those who have been with Christ on the Mount of Transfiguration. That is an essential stage on the way of being a son, brought by Christ to glory. There God and man meet, there the past and the future are held in the firm grip of the present, there the sorrow of the world is transmuted, not into happiness, but into a greater thing, joy, there man finds the true end of his life in worship and adoration. The word of God, spoken there, stands for ever: 'This is My Son, My chosen: hear ye Him'.

HARRY BELSHAW

THE TRANSFORMING POWER OF THOUGHT

THE WHOLE of our human life rests ultimately, if it is to remain sane and wholesome and not to collapse in failure, horror, and death upon a fundamental axiom. An axiom is a condition that has to be assumed before the human mind can operate with confidence. It is something self-evident given in the nature of things, as a signpost to human thinking. This particular axiom, fundamental to life, is that *Creation proceeds from the Thinking of God*. Someone 'thought' before World could be. Without this axiom, or belief, the human mind is for ever subtly stultified in its own operation. If we are compelled to believe that everything begins with Matter, that is with things which display no initiative in themselves, then a frightful inertia begins to descend upon our thinking and it will be limited, for a very long time (though scarcely for ever, since its folly is bound to be discovered), to the examination and the analysis of material things; in other words, it will follow matter and be dominated by it, instead of dominating and moulding matter. The artist at best would have to wait till his paint spoke to him before he spoke to his paint; the mountain would have to deliver its own poem, the poet will feel no inspiration to do so; the birds might sing for a millennium, and the musician remain dumb; and the more the astronomer learnt about the bulk of matter in the universe, the more would paralysis descend upon his thought.

One has only to examine this possibility to see how unlikely it is to happen. You will never persuade the painter, the poet, and the musician to be so inert, because they know that a mental vision leads them on into a definite result with the material of their craft; and even the astronomer, in the presence of fabulous figures, cannot escape the thrill that visited the soul of Kepler when he spoke of 'thinking God's thoughts after him'. The fact is that in all our human experience the seat of initiative for thought, feeling, and action is the *mind*. Your body does not move till subtly you tell it to move, or some reason for movement appeals to your controlling self. It is true, of course, that apparently spontaneous actions break from matter, as for example in high explosive, or in the slow decomposing of material things, but we find either that this possibility has been inserted by human contrivance, as in the former case, or, as in the latter case it is the effect of steady chemical change to which everything in the material universe is contributing—sun, rain, gravitation, and so on—and that it belongs, therefore, to a *planned and reasoned world*. The effect in both cases has been made possible by preceding thought on the part of man or of the Creator.

When the gramophone first made its appearance in certain parts of Africa it was worshipped as a living being because the voice broke so spontaneously from the mechanism. This is an excellent illustration of justifiable anthropomorphism. The natives interpreted the gramophone in terms of a man. Your modern sceptic would so easily scoff at them and say: 'See, it is only a mechanism, it is not a man at all!', entirely overlooking the fact in his hurried logic of disbelief that the gramophone is a mechanism made by man and inevitably therefore embodying something of the man—it is a thought-creation.

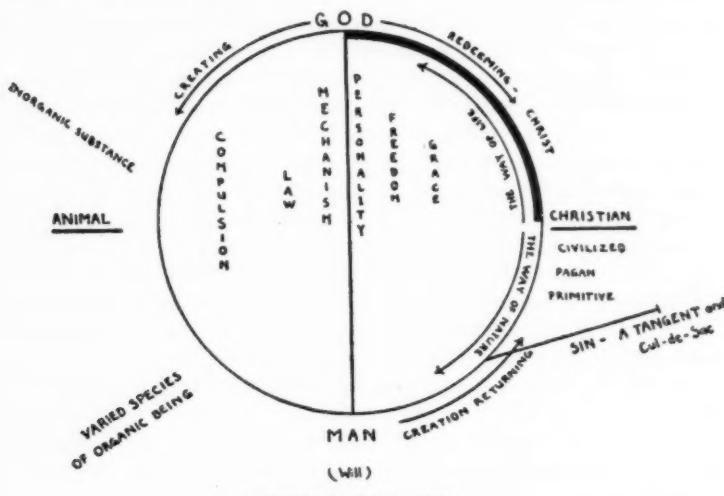
That the Creation is the work of the Divine Mind is not a mere philosophic speculation, it is the only belief that does justice to the nature of our own minds;

we cannot think about the matter in any other way without doing violence to our own mental constitution. To believe that the thinking comes from the unthinking, and that which feels from the unfeeling, and that which purposes from that which is purposeless, is to posit effects without causes, results without resources, it is to bring something out of nothing—whereas 'out of nothing only nothing comes'. It is as though a man insisted upon standing upon his head to look at the world and then should feverishly complain that everything seems upside down!

THE DIVINE THINKER

We have to think then of Creation beginning in the Love of God, moving out in mental vision and Divine will and, as it were, hardening, or congealing, into the material world as we know it. To struggle for an adequate simile, we might take Creation as the warm breath of God breaking into form upon the chill face of nothing. Or, shall we say, more boldly, that Creation represents the onward march of the Being of God, the Eternal Something, redeeming still further the abyss of Nothing, and that Man represents this new Divine movement at the point where it develops nearest toward the Deity which is both its origin and goal. Man as the crown of creation is the hall-mark of God upon His own mighty deed. He is the Divine thought, breaking through matter, revealing the meaning of the whole process. In this conception Christ is not only the Principle of the whole of Creation but also Deity coming forth to welcome returning Man.

This may be put in diagrammatic form:



The Turning Point of Creation

It may seem great presumption to try to put the whole of existence into a diagram, but this is an age of shorthand and we can but struggle to express what we see. At the top of this circle we assume God, the Divine Thinker, brooding over chaos and moving to that eternal renewal of Himself which

is His Everlasting Being. From His thought proceeds the vast congealing of all those preparations that are necessary to bring new and independent life into existence: the foundations of the material world—the vast buttresses of water—the suns and stars and planets; the multitudinous array of animal forms in which His thinking experiments toward life, seeking the physical organization that can express mind—all come into being in their due time and are at last crowned by the production of Man. In all this process there is the onward, remorseless drive of the irresistible Divine Will—nature is God's machine for the production of living souls. But with the arrival of self-conscious Man, God's noblest achievement, *a New Will is created*, the greatest miracle of all, and from this point God's creation can no longer be forced; it is no mere machine now but contains a partially independent mind, a will that must be studied, educated, but never coerced. Then begins what might be called 'The Great Return of Creation to the Creator'. Left of necessity for the sake of freedom very much to its own devices, yet subject always and everywhere to Divine inspiration, the human being rises steadily in the scale of capacity toward what we call 'Civilized Man'. When capacity reaches a certain level, the human mind becomes susceptible to more direct Divine revelation—prophets, artists, philosophers, arise in the race. At this point Man is ready for, and urgently needs, one stupendous event, namely the stoop of God to His returning child—the Incarnation of God as Moral Leader takes place and Man is turned finally from a creature of God to a child of God. Christ has come, and with Him, Christian Man becomes possible.

This tremendous development carries us obviously three-quarters of the way round the circle; Creation is now *returning* into the likeness of its Divine origin; God's new movement is almost completed. From this point onward a thrilling possibility emerges: man is understanding God, and the meaning of existence, and the purpose that is focused into his own being. His face is finally lifted from the clod and turned upward toward His Maker, whom he now knows to be his Friend and Saviour. His will is being redeemed by love from all its errors and its wanderings, and from that intense egoism by which alone it could have come into existence, but which at this point of development must expand to altruism. So the amazing opportunity arrives of man being able now to take his life for progressive and curative purposes, no longer indirectly through Nature but *direct from God Himself*.

Is not this the providential significance of all those widespread cults and movements of mental and spiritual healing and human recovery which have arisen in the Christian era and very specially in our own time, under the pressure of the increasing crises of world-need demanding world-salvation?

THE UPLIFTED HANDS OF FAITH

It is a very simple but profound movement from belief in the creative power of the thought of God to a corresponding conviction that there must be some degree of creative power in human thought. If we are truly made in His Image, if our thought processes are bound by the same rules of logic as His own, if they are essentially a reproduction of His own mind, then in this regal power

of thought, we put our hands upon the supreme lever of change, development, and production in God's Universe.

This conviction becomes steadily confirmed as we reflect upon our everyday life and realize that there is nothing in our human world which has not been first a thought before it was an existence. Man is a building animal, but he thinks before he builds, and he builds according to his thought. The plan of the house precedes the house, and the blue-print foretells the public building. Just as George MacDonald's little baby is able to say, 'God thought about me and so I grew', similarly, if they could speak, the ship and the locomotive, the bridge and the car that travels over it, the light-house on the shore, and the church whose spire rises to heaven would be compelled to say: 'Man thought about me and so I am.'

By the conceiving of his mind, man can change a wilderness into a teeming city and make 'the desert blossom like the rose'. If man's thought is so powerful in external construction, why should it be powerless in the internal economy of the body? There is an interesting experiment known as Chevreuil's Pendulum, which yields a simple and dramatic proof of the power of thought over the body: Take an ordinary stick and tie to the end of it a piece of string, and suspend on the end of the string a weight of any kind; then draw a circle either on the flat surface of a table or on the ground, with two diameters A—B, C—D. Stand over the circle and let the weight hover from the stick held in your hand over the centre of the circle; then, without moving your body at all, keeping the elbow well away from the side so as to avoid all interference, and remaining as still as you possibly can, *think* the diameter, say, A—B; keep on thinking of it steadily and you will presently discover the weight at the end of the string is travelling along that diameter which holds your thought. When it is going vigorously, and the more you try to stop it the more it will travel, cease thinking of that diameter and begin to think of the other one that lies across it; concentrate your mind steadily upon C—D and the weight will return to the centre, hover, poised, and move along C—D. This really makes quite a good parlour game, since you can put the alphabet round a circle and by thinking of somebody's name, cause the weight, apparently magically, to spell out that name from the alphabet—which means, of course, that you have to think of the separate letters of the name one by one. This experiment will surprise you when you do it; it is as near to conclusive proof of the pure effect of thought upon matter that one can get. Although we cannot entirely exclude the possibility of very slightly subconscious adaptations and tremors of the bodily muscles, nevertheless, such tremors would flow from thought and be dominated by the thought's purpose.

All the well-known phenomena of auto-suggestion constitute further proof that thought can transform bodily conditions. A famous experiment was carried out by a psychologist in which he induced three men of the prize-fighting class to engage in one of those games in which you strike with a heavy hammer upon a platform and drive an indicator up a mast by the blow. First he let them do their best as they were thinking of it, and they registered 116 lb.; then he poured upon them a stream of weakening suggestion, told them they were not feeling up to the mark—in fact, they were decidedly unequal to the task, that they would find the hammer unconsciously heavy—and when at last he released

them again their efforts averaged this time about 90 lb. He then rushed at them with fierce, commanding suggestions of strength, altering the whole of their feeling tone, exalting and inflaming their minds—when they renewed the attack their figure leapt up to 240 lb.!

There is also the familiar evidence connected with thoughts that are repressed and shut away in the sub-conscious, where they are by no means powerless. Many a highly reasoned line of active behaviour is really dominated, not by the conscious logic that is loudly proclaimed, but by some repressed, forgotten, but powerful thought. Whilst in these facts there is a warning, and whilst many of the secret motives that are rooted in sub-conscious thinking are of the less worthy and primitive type, there is nevertheless also a gospel in this truth. Jesus Himself declared: 'As a man thinketh in his heart, so is he.'

There is urgent need for us all to lay hold of this mighty spring of action, our thinking, and insist that it be right and pure and good and kind, so that it become a power indeed, linking itself on to the Omnipotence of the Great Creator. If we think *with* God we think to some purpose, we add our tributary stream to His mighty cataract, and cannot fail of the same goal! We can apply this to our own bodily condition, maintaining thoughts of health, imagining as powerfully as we can the body as it ought to be, holding that steady current of sheer thought-power firmly. The firmness of it, and especially the recurring regularity of it are definite factors in success. Encourage in yourself high thinking, choose the higher levels of imagining; in fact, pursue the Apostle's advice: 'Whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honest, whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are pure . . . think on these things.'

There is a gravitation of the mind of which we should all be warned. It is as difficult for the mind to assert itself against all the threatenings of life as it is for the body to walk erect and to assert itself against the force of earthly gravity. This is why the mind needs an object above itself to draw it upward as the sun draws the light of every earthly flame toward itself. This is why we do our best thinking in the remembrance of the Divine Mind; ours is not the impossible task of thinking in a vacuum and of inventing the power that creates; ours is the much simpler task of allowing our minds to become active centres of the all-creating power of Thought, the Eternal Wisdom of God.

ALBERT D. BELDEN

THE SPIRITUAL LEGACY OF WILLIAM WILLIAMS OF PANTYCELYN

NO STUDY of the Evangelical Revival can be regarded as complete without reference to the parallel movement of earlier and independent origin in Wales. Among the outstanding names associated with that movement is that of William Williams (1717-91) of Pantycelyn, whose Welsh hymns enshrine the living genius of the Revival and combine to a rare degree the elements of its peculiar ethos. Comparisons are odious, and it would be invidious to adjudicate upon the relative greatness of Charles Wesley and 'Pantycelyn', as he is familiarly known in Wales. In their respective spheres they stand supreme. It is not, however, without significance that whereas many English Methodists bemoan the modern neglect of Charles Wesley's hymns, no such fate has even approached the Welsh hymns of William Williams. Out of the 770 hymns in the Joint Hymnal of the two Welsh Methodist denominations, the 253 hymns of William Williams are in constant use. The English translations of his hymns, of which the Presbyterian *Church Hymnary* has four, have not the native flavour of the originals, although 'Guide me, O Thou great Jehovah' has gained a popularity that is as wide as its currency.

Williams belonged to the Calvinistic section of the Methodist Movement, but the faith which he expressed in song was no arid creed. It came not from Geneva, but direct from God. It is Calvinism with a fundamental difference, and it strikes the authentic note of the universal Gospel. It is often asserted that it was the Arminian Methodism of John Wesley, introduced into the Principality in its Welsh form in 1800, which transformed the theological outlook of Welsh religious life and toned down its High Calvinism. There is a great measure of truth in this, but it must not be forgotten that there was all the time a latent dualism in the Calvinism of the Welsh Movement. It had sought to fit an evangelical faith into a Calvinistic creed, and it was not always a comfortable partnership. The Calvinism of the Movement could be embodied in the legal phrases of its *Cyffes Ffydd* (although even that oft-criticized document is closer to the evangelical tradition than is often realized), and John Elias could strike terror into the hearts of his congregations by his lurid descriptions of the hell paved with the infant skulls of the unbaptized which awaited the non-elect, but such a creed could not be sung. It finds no echo in the Welsh hymns of the Revival, whose dominant theme is the boundless grace of God in Christ. The lyrics of Williams and the Calvinistic theology of the 'Confession of Faith' represent the elements of a tension within the Movement, which, soon or late, would have to be resolved. What Welsh Arminian Methodism really did was to bring the issue to a head. Its Arminian theology was accepted as a challenge by the leaders of the older Welsh Movement. The immediate result was to sharpen their Calvinism, and there began a major theological controversy which involved not only the leaders but the rank and file of Welsh Nonconformity. It was only after many years, when the smoke of the battle had cleared, that the ultimate result was seen to be a triumph, perhaps not so much for Wesley's Arminianism as for the warm evangelicalism which was at the heart of the original Welsh Movement itself,

and which was represented by the popular hymns of 'Pantycelyn'. It was in these hymns rather than in his sermons and prose works that Williams moulded what became the practical theology of Welsh Calvinistic Methodism, and these hymns are evangelical to the core. Williams was first and foremost a Methodist and the spirit of the Revival is nowhere more clearly revealed than in his superb Welsh hymns in which religious genius and poetic gifts of exceptional merit find expression. This great combination of insight and poetry baffles adequate translation, but in the world's great pantheon of sacred poetry there stands no name of greater merit than that of the clergyman-evangelist of Pantycelyn.

Like the other hymn-writers of the Great Revival, Williams's theological interest was essentially practical and experimental. He was sufficiently a Calvinist to have a sublime conception of God, but he never sought to express it in abstract terms or to set it in contrast to the thought of grace. The Lord of heaven and earth was for Williams the God of grace, and it was in His act of redemptive love upon Calvary that His glory was fully revealed.

*What glorious attribute of God
But is not here sealed with blood?
What can Thy Name to us reveal
In clearer tones than Calvary's hill?*

In his thought of Jesus we also repeatedly find the same notes of grace and glory, and sometimes he strikes a majestic note of triumph as in one of his martial hymns which is found in translation in the *Church Hymnary*.

*Onward march, all-conquering Jesus,
Gird Thee on Thy mighty sword!
Sinful earth can ne'er oppose Thee;
Hell itself quails at Thy word.
Thy great Name is so exalted,
Every foe shrinks back in fear;
Terror creeps through all creation,
When it knows that Thou art near.*

One of the surprising features of Williams's hymns, when we remember that he belonged to the Calvinistic branch of the Methodist Movement, is that there is in them so little suggestion of a limited atonement or a narrow election. There are references to Divine election, but it is the positive aspect of election to eternal life that Williams always stresses. In one of his hymns he traces the guiding hand which had saved him from falling over the precipice of sin by which he played, and he sees in his own experience the working of the deep purposes of God.

*All unknown Thy kindly purpose,
And Thy providential love,
Must have woven chains around me,
Binding me to things above.*

There is not a trace of narrowness in his conception of the redeeming purposes of God. The salvation of which he sings is

*... like a boundless sea
Of ever-flowing tide . . . ,*

and within its infinity the weak and helpless find eternal satisfaction for all their needs. In keeping with this thought is his broad missionary interest, for his spiritual Pentecost had opened his eyes to the plight of the heathen, and his missionary hymns are among the first in any language to strike the universal note of world evangelism in definite form. Watts's great hymn, 'Jesus shall reign', was certainly prior to any of Williams's missionary hymns, but it is a Christianized version of a part of Psalm 72 rather than an original hymn. One of Williams's missionary hymns, 'O'er those gloomy hills of darkness', was originally written in English and has gained wide currency. It was published in 1772 and it anticipates the modern world-missionary movement of the Christian Church. It cannot be claimed as a great hymn, but in it, as in several of his missionary hymns, he displays a special interest in the teeming millions of India.

*Let the Indian, let the Negro,
Let the rude barbarian see
That divine and glorious conquest
Once obtained on Calvary:
Let the Gospel
Word resound from pole to pole.*

The doctrine of Assurance is commonly supposed to be a monopoly of Arminian Methodism, and for a fully consistent Calvinist it would be arrogant presumption to expect such confidence, but it is undoubtedly to be found in the hymns of 'Pantycelyn'. His may not be the robust assurance of Charles Wesley, for it is tempered by a strong sense of human frailty and even by passing doubts, but underneath there is a recurring note of confidence, drawn not so much from personal experience as from the mighty promises of God. It is the confidence of 'I believe' rather than of 'I know', but such is the nature of his faith that the distinction has little corresponding reality. From the persistent moods of doubt and fear which torment his soul—the saint has never been born who is without them, and they even approached the Master—Williams comes back to rest upon the promises and claims the sure token of his acceptance.

*Give me a clear and steady token
Which no trace of doubt can hide,
That, whatever may befall me,
Thy sure covenants abide.*

But just as Charles Wesley's confident assurance is not merely a matter of personal experience but is related to the Word of God, so is Williams's doctrine no mere deduction of faith, for it finds a glad echo in his own heart.

*Great and glorious are the tidings,
Glad assurances of love,
Borne on dazzling clouds of glory
From my Father's home above:
'All forgiven'—
Sins unnumbered as the stars.*

The difference between the hymns of Williams and Wesley on the subject of the inward witness of the spirit lies more in emphasis than in fact and it can easily be overstressed, as indeed it has been. If the assurance voiced by Williams is rather reminiscent of the confidence of another who stressed God's mighty grasp rather than his own frail hold, and if at times we are conscious of his temperamental moods of doubt, yet his prevailing faith gives him a confidence that cannot be confounded.

It cannot be said that Williams has a stated doctrine of sanctification, but like every saint he has an experimental faith concerning it. There is certainly a sense in which he speaks of full redemption as an experience that awaits the ransomed soul beyond the veil. In many of his hymns we can trace those undertones of self-distrust and fear which were never far from the edge of his consciousness, and which he regarded as a part of his natural inheritance. It is little wonder that in common with many of his generation he thought of the River of Death as a cleansing stream wherein the saints shed the stained burdens of mortality. Yet, and without any sense of contradiction, his hymns are full of yearning to realize on earth that 'holiness without which no man can see the Lord'. Again and again he prays for the supreme blessing of a blameless life.

*Why cannot I begin on earth
The bliss of Heaven above,
And spend my happy days below
Lost in Thy perfect love?*

Allied to the thought of sanctifying grace is the thought of the indwelling Spirit of God and the abiding Divine presence which is, for Williams, life's surpassing treasure.

*Perfect life is in Thy presence,
As the honey is Thy peace,
Thy pure love is far more precious
Than the pearls of India's seas;
To enjoy Thee
Is to find surpassing wealth.*

There is one interesting feature of Williams's thought which deserves mention. We are familiar today with the thought of the sublimation of life's instincts and impulses, but Williams recognized the possibility at a time when many religious people regarded the natural passions as belonging to the heritage of sinful flesh, and therefore evil. He saw the possibility of their redemption for the service of God and His Kingdom, and all the earthly loves of this Welsh St. John of the Cross became transmuted into a burning passion for his Lord.

*May every thought and passion draw
My heart to things above.

Make my passions Thy musicians,
And my heart Thy golden strings,
Whereon with devoted fingers
They extol the King of Kings.*

*Sanctify me wholly, Saviour,
In each impulse and each gift.*

Human life is for Williams a pilgrimage to eternity. We are all familiar with his English hymn of pilgrimage, 'Guide me, O Thou great Jehovah' but it is only one of many. The Christian pilgrim is never lonely, for he is surrounded by the encouraging songs of the redeemed.

*I seem to hear, as I tread,
Sweet music of the skies:
Songs of triumphant hosts above,
In the peace of Paradise.*

Heaven is the world of God's immediate presence and the true home of the soul, but even there the onward march goes on.

*My eternal hope is endless,
Ever reaching farther still;
Coeternal with the Godhead,
Boundless as His sovereign will.*

With that abiding hope which is so characteristic of his gospel we may leave Williams. This great son of the Revival has left an indelible mark for over two centuries upon the religious life of Wales, and he needs only to be known to be recognized as one of the classical exponents of the spirit that is Methodism.

WILLIAM J. ROBERTS

CORPORATE PERSONALITY

A Fiction

IT IS FREQUENTLY suggested by present-day writers that there is such a thing as Corporate Personality. For instance, in reviewing a book on the Old Testament Professor Snaith used the phrase: 'The idea of corporate personality would seem to be not a peculiar characteristic of Hebrew thought only, but an actuality built into the very fabric of humanity.'¹ C. E. M. Joad, in summing up the main features of what he calls modern individualism (as distinct from the individualism of John Stuart Mill) speaks of 'the real personality of groups'.² And the late Dr. Garvie wrote: '... a society tends to become personal in its unity, to acquire personality'.³ Now these sentences are typical of much modern thinking—confused thinking. Because persons live together, work together, depend on and influence each other, and, some of them at any rate, think alike on certain questions, like the same books or pictures or games, that does not make society a 'personality'.

Another illustration of this tendency is the talk of a 'group mind'. Again, there is no such thing. The members of any particular group (F.O.R., Toc H., a political party, trade union, or religious denomination) may agree on some particular issue; doubtless they do, or they would not be members of that group, but they are still individuals. Because they hold the same opinion, or, to state the matter in stronger terms and at a deeper level, share the same conviction on some issue, that does not constitute or create a 'group mind'. On many other issues they may hold widely differing views. We see an outstanding instance of this in the case of Pacifism. There are Catholics and Quakers, Anglicans and Baptists, Methodists and Congregationalists, Unitarians and Plymouth Brethren, who are convinced Pacifists. They are at one on this grave matter, and may all be members of a group (F.O.R.), yet on many other issues they may not merely differ, but hold mutually exclusive views. There may be a relative justification of the phrase 'a common mind', so long as it is clearly understood that all that is meant, and all that can be meant, is that a group of people are agreed on a certain issue—or issues. There is no mind (save the mind of God) over and above and apart from the minds of the individuals in the group. Nor is there a mind in which the particular minds of individuals are merged, absorbed, or lost. The 'group mind' is a pure abstraction.

Another rather curious passage is the following, in which Dr. Garvie is dealing with McIver's rejection of the Psychic view of society: '... in assuming that the only possible form of mind is individual mind, attached to an organism, and thus isolated from other minds'.⁴ The only form of mind is INDIVIDUAL MIND; but why, because it is attached to an organism, should it be regarded as isolated from other minds? On the contrary, individual minds (each attached to an organism) are in the closest touch with each other. Our own experience commonly testifies to that. The books we have read, conversations in which we have shared, arguments in which we

¹ *Hibbert Journal* (January 1947), p. 187.

³ *Christian Doctrine of Godhead*, p. 478.

² *Modern Political Theory*, pp. 23, 37.

⁴ *Christian Ideal for Human Society*, p. 284.

have taken part, lectures and sermons we have heard (or delivered), have all been modes of contact with other minds which have profoundly influenced us. Our minds have been, as it were, 'open to each other'. But they are still individual minds. The attachment of each mind to an organism in no way implies or involves 'isolation'. Instead there may be, and indeed often is, the closest and deepest fellowship with other minds. The word fellowship is significant at this point, for fellowship is not absorption, either of one mind into the other, or of both (or all if we are thinking of a group) into some other personality. Fellowship is essentially an association or relationship of persons. There must be an ego and an *alter ego*. It is the existence of separate centres of consciousness which makes fellowship possible at all. Without such separate centres there could be no co-operation, friendship, or love; i.e. no fellowship of any kind. Furthermore, however close, deep, and intimate these relationships are, the individuals between whom they exist must remain individuals—separate centres of consciousness. The point is finely put by Niebuhr: 'The ideal possibility is a loving relationship between the self and the other self in which alienation but not discrete identity is transcended.'⁶

Now the inevitable tendency of the notion of 'corporate personality' is to minimize the significance and responsibility of the individual. This is seen most markedly in Idealistic thought, notably Bradley⁵ and Bosanquet.⁷ According to these philosophers the individual is 'merged', 'absorbed', 'fused', 'blended', 'suppressed', 'dissolved', or 'lost' in the Absolute. Professor Bosanquet writes of the tendency of the social process as being 'toward an individuality in which centres, formed and further formed by such a process, tend to be, as particular centres, transcended and absorbed'.⁸ In the end the individual ceases to be.

Once the idea of 'corporate personality' is accepted, the suggestion follows that the unit for consideration is not the individual, but the group—whether the class or church or nation. This is definitely a retrograde step, a return to primitive notions. 'Primitive man is inserted with comparative frictionless harmony into the "primitive we" of group life. He emerges from this group-consciousness only gradually as an individual.'⁹ In early Old Testament days the nation 'Israel' was regarded as the unit. Prophets addressed their message to the nation. God had a covenant with the nation, a purpose for the nation, and His favour and blessing were for the individual Jew, not as a man, but as a member of the covenanted people. It was part of the genius of Jeremiah that he saw beyond that. He realized the inwardness of true religion and the fact that the individual has his own personal relation to God. And this emphasis of Jeremiah finds abundant confirmation in the teaching and witness of our Lord. To enlighten, heal, and forgive the individual was to do the Father's will. Zaccheus, Bartimeus, the paralytic, the demoniac, Mary of Magdala, and the Woman of Samaria were all the objects of His love. To re-establish Peter and confirm the faith of Thomas were matters of deep concern. While Jesus came as Israel's Messiah, with a message and challenge to the nation, it is clear that He had a tender concern for the individual man and woman. And the recognition that 'He loved me and gave

⁵ *Nature and Destiny of Man*, p. 82.

⁶ *Appearance and Reality*.

⁷ *Value and Destiny of Individual*.

⁸ *ibid.*, p. 92.

⁹ Niebuhr, *Nature and Destiny of Man*, p. 59.

'Himself up for me' is at the heart of the Gospel. Moreover, it is hardly too much to say that every advance in economic, social, political, and religious life has come about through a fuller and more sensitive consideration of the individual as an individual. The realization that each is a 'child of God', a 'soul for whom Christ died', a 'person', has been the real dynamic behind every genuine reform. To return to thinking of the individual mainly as a member of a group, which is the real unit for consideration and is some kind of 'corporate personality', is really a regrettable relapse into primitive notions.

The more we examine this notion of 'corporate personality' the more impossible it becomes, as the following questions show. What number of people are necessary, two, three, or three thousand, and what degree of intensity and closeness of association is required to constitute a 'corporate personality'? What happens to the 'corporate personality' when the group is broken up by the death of members? Does it also die? How many such 'corporate personalities' are there? A Baptist? Anglican? Methodist? Catholic? or are all Christians part of one 'corporate personality'? If each denomination is—or has—a 'corporate personality', what happens when they unite, as in Canada and South India? Which of the 'corporate personalities' survives, or do they all cease and an entirely new one come into being? Then is there a Tory personality, and a Labour, and a Liberal? Is there a Humanist and a Communist? Is each separate sovereign State a personality, and if so is the English Christian a member of two such 'corporate personalities'—the Christian and the English? What happens when States surrender their sovereignty and federate as in the U.S.A.? Do the 'corporate personalities' then merge into one? Do some individuals belong to a number of 'corporate personalities', a racial, religious, political, musical, etc.? Or is there only one 'corporate personality' to which all men everywhere belong, i.e. Humanity? That would lead us back to Plato's realism and a discussion of the nature of universals, too large a question for this brief article. We may, however, state the question. Is Humanity simply a name for (a) the total number of human beings, and (b) all their qualities, but more particularly those qualities that distinguish humans from the animal creation? or is there some entity over and above human beings in which they all share, but which has its own objective existence, and which would continue to exist if all human beings ceased to be? Is it not clear that if you take away the individual human beings there is nothing left? Apart from them 'Humanity' is an abstraction.

The questions I have suggested, and a score of others that could be stated, make it increasingly clear that 'corporate personality' simply does not exist. Far from being 'an actuality built into the very fabric of humanity' it is merely a figment of the imagination—an empty phrase. The truth rather is expressed in these two quotations:

Society is nowhere but in its members, and it is most in the greatest of them.¹⁰ Mankind. It is an abstraction. There are, always have been, and always will be men and only men.¹¹

RONALD LEES

¹⁰ McIver: *Community*, p. 94.

¹¹ Goethe: quoted by Samuel, *Belief and Action*, p. 175.

Ecumenical Survey

COMMUNICATED THROUGH THE REV. PHILIP S. WATSON, M.A.

THE SACRAMENT OF THE LORD'S SUPPER IN EARLY METHODISM¹

NEARLY thirty years ago, the *London Quarterly Review*² published an article by the Rev. Thomas H. Barratt which has been the foundation of almost everything that has since been written on the subject of the Lord's Supper in early Methodism. The writer of that article supplied an outline for others to fill, and such details as have so far been forthcoming have confirmed his main conclusions. Mr. Barratt argued for three principles. The first was that John Wesley not only preached 'Constant Communion', but practised it also; in fact, from a study of the recently deciphered diaries, Mr. Barratt demonstrated that from 1738 to 1791, Wesley communicated between seventy and ninety times a year—that is, on an average, once in every four or five days. The second point Mr. Barratt established was that to a large degree, and in spite of many hindrances, the early Methodists followed their founder and were themselves regular partakers of the Lord's Supper. The third conclusion was that Wesley's evangelical conversion made very little difference, if any, to his regard for, and his practice of, the Lord's Supper. Wesley enlisted the Sacrament in the service of the evangelical revival, and for him, 'at the holy Table, nothing was altered, but all things had become new'.

Since Mr. Barratt wrote, further study of early Methodist history has shed more light on the subject. To Dr. J. Ernest Rattenbury must go the credit of illuminating studies on the doctrinal side. We are inclined to believe that the full theological significance of this book³ has yet to be appreciated, both within and without Methodism. Few reviewers seem to have realized that this is not 'just another book about hymns', but a unique statement of eucharistic theology. In view of this recent publication, we shall leave doctrinal matters aside in this article and take the opportunity of discussing some of the practical details of administration.

ADMINISTRATION

The first Methodists were members of the Church of England, and they were expected to attend their parish churches for the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper. Wesley did not, at first, intend the Methodist Societies to usurp the position of the Church of England in this respect. In August 1739, when the Bishop of Bristol accused him of administering the Sacrament in his societies, he replied: 'My lord, I never did yet, and I believe never shall.'⁴ His hopes were not fulfilled, for as the Methodists found themselves increasingly unwelcome at the parish church, the desire for administration on their own premises and by their own preachers grew quickly.

¹ The following article contains material from the author's book of the same title, which is to be published by the Dacre Press.

² July, 1923, article entitled 'The Place of the Lord's Supper in Early Methodism'.

³ *The Eucharistic Hymns of John and Charles Wesley* (The Epworth Press, 1948).

⁴ *JWJ.*, II.257. (See end of article for list of abbreviations.)

To meet the case of those Methodists who were refused the Sacrament at church, Wesley encouraged his followers to meet with him when he administered to the sick. Accordingly, in his early diaries there are frequent references to these private celebrations. He often states the number of people present, for example: 'At Mrs. William's, communion, nine there.'⁸

Probably the first Methodist Communion service to be held outside a consecrated building of the Anglican Church was (apart from sick-communions) that held on Sunday 29th June 1740, when Charles Wesley 'gave the sacrament to about eighty colliers'⁹ at Kingswood. We do not know precisely where this took place, but we are told that on 12th April 1741 he administered it to the Bands in the school, adding, 'had we wanted an house, would justify doing it in the midst of the Wood'.¹⁰ It appears that Charles did this without the knowledge or consent of his brother; on the other hand, there is no evidence to show that John in any way protested. In the summer of 1739 the first Methodist Chapel—or 'society room', as it was called—was opened in the Horsefair, Bristol. It is difficult to say when the Lord's Supper was first administered there; in fact, it is not until October 1770 that we have any information about the exact procedure:

Sun. 7.—My brother and I complied with the desire of many of our friends, and agreed to administer the Lord's Supper every other Sunday, at Bristol. We judged it best to have the entire service, and so began at nine o'clock.¹¹

That this was not acceptable to all the Bristol Methodists is shown by the fact that at the time of Wesley's death (1791) there were still a few 'Church Methodists' who attended St. James's Parish Church. When the Conference of 1795 sanctioned the administration of the Lord's Supper in Methodist preaching-houses, these 'Church Methodists' severed their connexion with Methodism and were written off the Bristol roll as 'old planners'.¹²

In London, things were moving in the same direction. The first Methodist building was the Foundery,¹³ but there is no evidence that the Lord's Supper was administered there during the early years of its existence as a Methodist preaching-house. The needs of the London Society were met by the use of two Huguenot Churches, one at Great Hermitage Street, Wapping, and the other at West Street, Seven Dials. At West Street, Wesley divided the society into three sections so that not more than six hundred people presented themselves for the Lord's Supper at one celebration. The original chalices are still preserved; the actual vessels which the Wesleys, Fletcher, Coke and others passed to the kneeling communicants.¹⁴ However, while the *Journals* of John and Charles Wesley give us no information as to when the Lord's Supper was first administered at the Foundery,¹⁵ from an old account book we discover that it was administered by 1775.¹⁶ Judging from the amount collected annually,¹⁷ the congregations cannot have been small, for many contributions would be in small coin only. At City Road Chapel, opened in 1779, the Lord's Supper was

⁸ *ibid.*, p. 253 (4th August 1739).
⁹ *JWJ.*, V.302.

¹⁰ *CWJ.*, I.243.

¹¹ *ibid.*, p. 267.

¹² The first service at the Foundery was held on Sunday 11th November 1739 (*JWJ.*, II.319n.).
¹³ See photograph of these cups, and the accompanying article, in *WHS.*, XXVII.102ff.

¹⁴ Stevenson, *City Road Chapel*, is misleading. He assumed, without proof, that Charles Wesley administered at the Foundery on Sunday 27th November 1743. He also narrates events of 1743 as if they belonged to 1740. Materials of 1743 and 1740 are jumbled together in great confusion.

¹⁵ Stevenson, *op. cit.*, pp. 58, 59, 127(n.2).

¹⁶ It was nearly £63 in 1774 and over £76 in 1775—Stevenson, *ibid.*

celebrated every Sunday morning, for one of the Wesleys or one of their ordained assistants was always available.

While the Methodists in London and Bristol were privileged to have the Lord's Supper administered regularly, developments in the provinces caused much anxiety. Here and there, happy relations with the clergy were preserved and the Methodists received the Sacrament at Church. However, apart from the fact that in the majority of parish churches in the eighteenth century the Holy Communion was celebrated only three or four times a year, other circumstances militated against the Methodists receiving it at church. In some parishes they were refused admission to the service simply because of their supposed deviation from ecclesiastical decorum;¹⁶ in others, the converts to Methodism were without any previous ties to the Church and quite naturally had no desire to attend where they were not welcome. There were also cases, all too numerous in the eighteenth century, where the incumbent was of a disreputable character, and the Methodists themselves made the breach by refusing to attend his administrations. In spite of these conditions, Wesley never ceased to exhort his people to 'Constant Communion', enforcing his rules for societies, leaders, and helpers 'to attend church and Sacrament'. He even went so far as to argue, at certain length, that the evil character of the celebrant did not rob the Sacrament of its efficacy.¹⁷ However, by 1755, there was an outburst of agitation for the Sacrament to be administered on Methodist premises by Methodist preachers. The unrest had not the sympathy of all the people, the majority of whom were for the peace of the movement and were firm in their allegiance to Wesley; nor can it be laid to the charge of the preachers as a whole that they encouraged discontent.¹⁷ At the same time, it is probable that, if the opinion of the Methodist people had been sought, it would have revealed a general desire for regular administration, even by the preachers themselves, if this were possible. But really, the people were in a dilemma. The alternatives were either to agitate for general administration or to acquiesce in the loss of it altogether; in the latter alternative, what would become of Wesley's call to 'Constant Communion' and his Rules? Of course, Methodism might have continued without Sacraments, much like the Quakers or the Salvation Army. Agitation is always distasteful, but in this case it cannot be dismissed as disaffection, it was rather the manifestation of a real attachment to the ordinances of the Christian Church. Wesley won a victory for the Sacraments when he withstood the Moravian Quietists who would have restricted the means of grace to a few choice souls. Now, having established his societies with the Lord's Supper as an integral part of their devotional life and enjoining his people to attend as often as they were able, his problem was how to provide for his injunction to be carried out.

The quickest way out of the difficulty would have been to allow the preachers to administer. Apart from the fact that this would not have been acceptable to

¹⁶ Open-air preaching, class-meetings, and a piety without parallel at the time, rendered all Methodists 'suspects'. All manner of malicious rumours were spread. Wesley was attacked as a Jesuit and his class-meetings condemned as confessionalists—to mention only two examples of the false grounds on which the Methodists were ostracized.

¹⁷ See Standard Sermon, No. XXVII, para. iii. 8. (*JWS.*, II.19); The sermon, 'On attending the Church Service' (*JWW.*, VII.174); Letter to Miss Bishop (*JWL.*, VI.327); several references in *CWJ*. See also Article XXVIII of the Church of England.

¹⁷ See a letter of Dr. Adam Clarke dated 18th June 1832, printed in *WHS.*, XVIII.23.

all Methodists, it would have severely strained the relationship between the two brothers;¹⁸ further, Wesley himself was not yet fully persuaded of the appropriateness of ordaining. The attempt by some of his most able preachers¹⁹ to administer at Norwich in 1755 was followed by another in 1760 when Paul Greenwood, Thomas Mitchells, and John Murlin apparently did administer. Murlin, in a letter dated 23rd December 1794, says he both baptized and administered the Lord's Supper for three years 'until Charles made a great outcry and put a stop to it for a time'.²⁰ We wonder, however, if Murlin's memory is serving him correctly, for it is difficult to imagine his doing it with John Wesley's approbation. Wesley's version of the incident is to be found in his sermon on 'The Ministerial Office'.²¹ In any case, none of these preachers had received that ordination without which Wesley never allowed a man to administer.

In all this, Wesley acted on three main principles: first of all, he held that there must be no administration without ordination. Secondly, he maintained that the call to preach did not carry with it any authority to administer the Sacrament. 'Modern laziness', he wrote in 1787, 'has jumbled together the two distinct offices of preaching and administering the Sacraments'.²² His third contention was that presbyters, discharging their inherent function as '*episcopoi*', were able to transmit their orders and ordain others to the office of the ministry. The foundations of these convictions lay in his belief in the priesthood of the ministry²³ and in the sacrificial implications of the Lord's Supper.²⁴ It is thus not surprising that there is no known instance of Wesley's consenting to the administration of the Lord's Supper by an unordained person.

Apart from the incidents at Norwich, there is no evidence in the *Journals* of John and Charles Wesley of any general administration of the Lord's Supper in provincial Methodist chapels before about 1780. From 1780, however, to the end of Wesley's life, there is an increasing tendency for Wesley himself to administer in the large provincial towns,²⁵ and occasionally at the opening of new chapels.²⁶ It is well known that these celebrations were attended by large crowds of communicants.

To the conclusion that there was no general administration of the Lord's Supper in Methodist chapels during Wesley's lifetime, there is just a little contrary evidence, but not sufficient, we think, to invalidate it. From local histories the impression is sometimes gained that Wesley was in the habit of

¹⁸ As it did in 1785 after John ordained his preachers for America. Charles wrote: 'Thus our partnership here is dissolved, but not our friendship.' Frank Baker, *Charles Wesley as Revealed by His Letters*, p. 137.

¹⁹ Edward and Charles Perronet, Thomas Walsh and Joseph Cowley.

²⁰ For Murlin's letter, see *The London Quarterly Review*, October 1884.

²¹ *JWW*, VII.277.

²² *JWL*, VII.372. The principle also applies to the Sacrament of Baptism, so far as Wesley is concerned. Compare the modern argument, so often heard in Synods and Conference during recent discussions on the Lay administration of the Sacraments: 'If a man is good enough to preach, he is good enough to administer the Sacrament.'

²³ Not in the sense of an individual, offering propitiatory sacrifices for his sins and those of other people; but a priesthood which functions through and on behalf of the whole Church. See *JWL*, II. 58; *CWJ*, I.147 (for Charles Wesley's belief in the Priesthood); John's Sermon, 'The Ministerial Office', *JWW*, VII.273; Rattenbury, *op. cit.*, pp. 144ff.

²⁴ See Rattenbury, *op. cit.*, Part II, *passim*; also Part III, pp. 231-5, John and Charles Wesley's *Hymns on the Lord's Supper* (Part IV, 'The Holy Eucharist as it implies a Sacrifice').

²⁵ See, for example, Warrington (4th April 1784), Bath (5th September 1784), Birmingham (19th March 1786), Sheffield (2nd July 1786), Plymouth (16th August 1789).

²⁶ Bath (11th March 1779), Hockley (4th April 1783—see *WHS*, V.165); Kingswood School—(24th June 1748).

administering to his societies whenever he paid them a visit.²⁷ William Myles, who wrote his *Chronological History of the People called Methodists* in 1813, speaks of Wesley as 'having been used to administer the Lord's Supper to the Societies in his annual visits'.²⁸ As a rule, writers of local histories make only general statements without supporting details; they were not specially interested in the administration of the Lord's Supper and cannot be expected to have investigated the subject.

Probably the safest conclusion would be, that there was no general administration of the Lord's Supper in provincial chapels, but it was not unknown for Wesley occasionally to administer when he visited them.

The problem of providing for adequate administration increased with the growth of Methodism. It was when the movement took root in America, where the settlers were cut off from the State Church and were without ordained clergy to administer, that the matter came to a head and Wesley was constrained to act. When he ordained men for America (1784) and for Scotland (1785), he could plead that he was providing for the needs of people who were outside the jurisdiction of the Church of England, but when he ordained Alexander Mather, Henry Moore, and Thomas Rankin without sending them out of England (1789) his action can be construed only as a preparation for the eventuality, which surely he must have foreseen if he never admitted, of administration by ordained preachers in Methodist chapels.²⁹ What he never foresaw and certainly never contemplated was administration by unordained preachers, a practice which was introduced into Methodism after his death.

THE SERVICE

Although there is nowhere a detailed account of an early Methodist Communion Service, there is much useful information in the works of John and Charles Wesley from which a picture can be drawn of the way in which the service was conducted. The basis was always the order as contained in the *Book of Common Prayer*. In view of the fact that irreverence was common in Anglican celebrations of the eighteenth century³⁰ Wesley was at pains to point out that one of the marked features of his services was absolute reverence.³¹ Dr. Rattenbury has dealt fully with the significance of the importation of hymns into the Communion Office; it is sufficient here to say that from the days when Wesley met a few kindred souls in his room in Georgia, most of his services and classes were conducted with singing. It is interesting to note that one of the most popular as well as the finest of the many collections of hymns published by the Wesleys was *Hymns on the Lord's Supper*. Many of the hymns in this collection are versifications of parts of the Liturgy.

In addition to hymns, extempore prayer gave Methodist Communion

²⁷ See, e.g. Jessop, *Methodism in Rossendale*, p. 157; Bretherton, *Early Methodism in Chester*, p. 79; Lyth, *Glimpses of Early Methodism in York*, pp. 104-5.

²⁸ 'Chronological History', p. 219.

²⁹ 'With Mather as "Superintendent" and Henry Moore and Thomas Rankin as "presbyters", Wesley considered that the Methodists possessed men capable of ordaining preachers to the work of the ministry. . . . In view of his wise proceedings, and of subsequent events, we cannot refrain from expressing our regret that Wesley's carefully arranged plan was not adopted by the Conference'—Dr. J. S. Simon in *WHS*, IX.154.

³⁰ See *JWJ*, IV.156.

³¹ *JWL*, III.228—letter to a Friend, 20th September 1757.

Services a unique character. From Charles Wesley's *Journal* we gather that the extempore prayer usually took place after the communion of the people and that intercession was made for 'all sorts and conditions of men'.³²

It is not known how far the Wesleys used to mix a little water with the wine before consecration. In his younger days, when he was very much under the influence of Nonjurors, John Wesley admittedly did so. There is no direct evidence either that the custom was dropped or that it persisted in later years, except that the doctrine which the custom implies and which is expressed in what Dr. Rattenbury calls 'Hymns of the Mixed Chalice'³³ may support the view that it persisted.

One of the most interesting of Methodist Communion customs is the way in which the people receive the elements. In Wesley's day, in spite of the Act of Uniformity, Anglican Churches were not uncommon where, in Puritan fashion, the Table was set lengthwise, 'in the midst of the chancel', and the people gathered around it to receive the Lord's Supper.³⁴ Only those Churches which were really in the Laudian or 'High-church' tradition set the Table at the East End, railed it off and made the people kneel to receive the elements from the hands of the minister. It was in this latter tradition that Methodism was reared. To this day Methodists of the parent body—and others, too—communicate at the rail—a sure proof of the example set by their Founder, for this is a custom much too 'High Church' to have been devised or introduced by nineteenth-century Methodists without Wesley's example. It is also the custom for Methodists to come to the Table in groups, not, as in the Church of England, as isolated individuals. The minister nowadays dismisses each group with a suitable blessing.

In spite of Wesley's strong belief in the disciplinary value of fasting, there is no evidence that he ever associated it with preparation for the Lord's Supper. In fact, the notice of occasional afternoon and evening Communion Services is sufficient indication that neither he nor the early Methodists practised fasting communion.

The type of vessels used in early Methodist Communion services has been discussed by the present writer in a recent issue of the *Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society*,³⁵ and the Manual Acts in the LONDON QUARTERLY AND HOLBORN REVIEW.³⁶ With regard to chalices, in the main, those used by the early Methodists conformed to the pattern in use in the majority of Anglican Churches of the day, being designed to a shape midway between the elaborate type used in the Roman Church and the plain, almost ugly and sometimes beaker-shaped cup used by the Puritans.

The use of two chalices, where Anglicans use only one, may be connected with another peculiarity of early Methodism—the segregation of the sexes in worship. It is well known that, except under special circumstances, men and women sat apart in early Methodist services.³⁷ This was probably a legacy of Wesley's contact with the Moravians.³⁸ It is not unlikely that the custom of

³² For examples see *CWJ.*, II.253f; I.132, 336, 393, 394, 401, 413, II.15, 63, 80, 127.

³³ op. cit., p. 38.

³⁴ Addleshaw and Etchells, *The Architectural Setting of Anglican Worship*, pp. 122, 141, 154.

³⁵ XXVII.102.

³⁶ October 1945, p. 392.

³⁷ *Large Minutes*, *JWW.*, VIII.332.

³⁸ Letter to Gilbert Boyce, *JWL.*, III.36 (22nd May 1750).

men and women sitting apart applied also to Communion Services; and so it is possible that the use of two chalices may be traceable to the use of one by the men and the other by the women.

The offering at Methodist Communion Services was 'alms' in the strict sense of the word, and thus was different from collections taken at Society or other meetings for Society funds. The offering at the Lord's Supper is still known in Methodism as 'The Poor Fund'.

Thus the Communion Service of early Methodism was conducted within the framework of the *Book of Common Prayer*. Into this framework, hymns and extempore prayer were inserted at the discretion of the minister. Wesley's use, and modification, of the *Prayer Book*³⁹ reveal a happy blend of Churchmanship and evangelism which made the Lord's Supper an effective instrument in the Methodist Revival.

ADMISSION TO THE LORD'S SUPPER

From his Oxford days, Wesley insisted upon Baptism as the primary and minimum qualification for admission to the Lord's Table,⁴⁰ but never, even when he was the zealous young Churchman in Georgia, did he insist upon Confirmation. Wesley's views on admission to the Lord's Supper underwent an interesting development. Under Moravian influence he inclined to call all men to the Feast⁴¹ and admit those who came without further qualification. This was the logical consequence of his conception of the Lord's Supper as a 'converting ordinance'⁴² and of his proclamation of 'Free Grace' and the universal gospel.⁴³ Later, when he organized his growing societies, he found it necessary to guard the Lord's Table against unworthy participants. He did not wish to exclude sincere seekers after grace—how could he, on his contention that the means should not await the grace,⁴⁴ but is itself a vehicle of grace? The primary qualification was at least a seeking after that faith which should manifest itself in 'a willingness to know and to do the whole will of God'.⁴⁵ So far went his debt to Moravianism. He could not, however, go with them to the extreme of admitting only those who had received the full assurance of faith; he was prepared to accept those who were seeking faith, in the belief that what they sought could be found at the Table of the Lord.

In order to ensure that all believers had access, and that no genuine seeker was excluded from the Sacrament, Wesley enacted that admission should be on the production of a class-ticket, or by a ticket of admission issued by himself or by one of his assistants. Those in possession of class-tickets were of known integrity;⁴⁶ the issue of special tickets provided the opportunity for those to

³⁹ See Wesley's *Revision of the Book of Common Prayer* (1784).

⁴⁰ For Wesley's views on Baptism as an initiatory rite, see *JWW.*, X.191. For the Baptism of Quakers and Dissenters before Communion see Tyerman, *John Wesley*, I.147, also *JWJ.*, I.117.

⁴¹ See *Hymns on the Lord's Supper*, 8. 1., Letter to John Simpson, *JWL.*, VI.124.

⁴² *JWL.*, II.360—27th June 1740.

⁴³ See Sermon 'Free Grace', *JWW.*, VII.373; *Hymns and Sacred Poems* (1740), *Hymns on God's Everlasting Love* (1741), and also the publications of John Fletcher and Thomas Olivers.

⁴⁴ This was the contention of Philip Molther and the Moravian Quietists against whom Wesley strove in 1740-2.

⁴⁵ *JWL.*, II.231—Letter to Thomas Church, June 1746.

⁴⁶ 'Every ticket implying as strong a recommendation of the person to whom it was given as if I had wrote at length, "I believe the bearer hereof to be one that fears God and works righteousness".' — 'A Plain Account of the people called Methodists', *JWW.*, VIII.256.

attend who had not definitely been received into membership of the society.⁴⁷ The rule that every communicant should show his ticket remained on the ex-Wesleyan statute book well into the twentieth century,⁴⁸ although the letter was largely supplanted by the spirit of a general invitation to all who love the Lord Jesus Christ.

CONCLUSION

The Methodist movement revived many things, not all of them to do with the Faith, but while it was primarily a revival of evangelical religion, it was undeniably also a revival of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper. No one can fail to be impressed by the striking contrast between the infrequent Communion Services of the Established and Nonconformist Churches alike in the eighteenth century and the frequent, crowded services of early Methodism. In establishing weekly celebrations, Wesley achieved what Calvin desired but failed to get in Geneva. Thus, as well as preserving the best in the High Church tradition, Wesley was also true to the spirit of the Reformation.⁴⁹ The strength and beauty of early Methodism lay in its unique synthesis of orthodox Churchmanship and fervent evangelism. Wesley himself was prophet and priest, a flaming evangelist who nourished his inner life on the devotional writings of the Catholic Saints and the ordinances of the Church. Methodism has never lost her twin heritage. Without repudiating her allegiance to the Holy Catholic Church, she has displayed all the liberty of the sons of God in her methods of proclaiming the Gospel to the outcasts of men. The place of the Lord's Supper in this supreme task of 'spreading scriptural holiness over the land'⁵⁰ was great and is written large upon the pages of *Lives of the Early Methodist Preachers*, as well as in the *Journals* of the Wesley brothers. Word and Sacrament⁵¹ formed a two-edged sword, armed with which those intrepid preachers won the triumphs of His grace.

JOHN C. BOWMER

⁴⁷ For incidents connected with the issue of these notes see *WHS.*, XVIII.123; Stevenson, *City Road Chapel*, p. 376; Tyerman, *Life of Fletcher*, 39-40. For the first use of Communicants' Notes, see Simon, *John Wesley and the Advance of Methodism*, p. 38.

⁴⁸ See Simon, *A Summary of Methodist Law and Discipline* (1923), p. 39: 'That the Table of the Lord should be open to all comers is surely a great discredit and a serious peril to any Church (1889, p. 412).'

⁴⁹ It ought to be remembered that the Reformation made available to the people not only the Scriptures, but also the Sacraments. Frequent communion of the laity was not a revival of medieval Romanism.

⁵⁰ *Large Minutes, JWW.*, VIII.299.

⁵¹ For the mention of 'Word and Sacrament', see *CWJ.*, I.450, II.45, or, from a letter of Charles Wesley: 'I am just come from preaching holiness for an hour and administering to a multitude of people.'

The following abbreviations have been used:

CWJ: *Journal of the Rev. Charles Wesley*, 2 Vols. (1849).

JWJ: *Journal of the Rev. John Wesley*, Standard Ed., 8 vols.

JWL: *Letters of the Rev. John Wesley*, Standard Ed., 8 vols.

JWW: *Works of the Rev. John Wesley*, 3rd ed., 14 vols. (ed. T. Jackson).

JWS: *Standard Sermons of the Rev. John Wesley*, 2 vols. (ed. E. H. Sugden).

WHS: *The Proceedings of the Wesley Historical Society*.

THE INFLUENCE OF PURITANISM AND DISSENT ON METHODISM

IT is a truism to say that the eighteenth century is the one which comes between the seventeenth and the nineteenth, yet at the same time it is one of the profoundest things one can say about it. Whether we take it as beginning in 1689 or 1714 and ending in 1789 or 1815, the century is one which is the heir of the preceding one, and, at the same time, a reaction from it; it is the parent of the next century, which is in so many ways a contrast to it. No other century in English history is so clearly marked off in sentiment from its neighbour. It is, so to speak, in a neutral between the two. It seeks the golden age, neither in the past nor in the future, but is content with the present, in the best of all worlds, with the best of all possible political constitutions, satisfied with a highly respectable established Church.

In such a century the whole of the lives of John and Charles Wesley was passed. In many ways they were true children of the age of reason, but, on the other hand, they were destined to be the greatest of influences to shatter such an age. One reason which enabled them to do this was the fact that they were inheritors of the best factors of the religious life of the seventeenth century.

It is obvious that this was so, of course, in a physical sense, their father and mother combining the blood of the great dissenters, the Westleys, the Whites, the Annesleys, with the independence of thought which had brought both of them at an early age to an acknowledgement of the superior claims of the established Church, and a sense of the truth of the Arminianism of Laud and the Caroline divines, in contrast to the ultra-Calvinism of the Puritans. At the same time it is well not to attach too much importance to heredity in an age when such bitter enemies of Puritanism as Sacheverell and Bolingbroke had sprung from devout Puritan and Dissenting families.

It is not likely that John Wesley would hear any great appreciation of the work of his dissenting forebears in the high-church atmosphere of the Epworth household, but later on he shows an open-mindedness and a readiness to acknowledge the unfairness of their treatment. In April 1754, after reading Calamy's *Baxter*, he writes: 'In spite of all the prejudices of education I could not but see that the poor nonconformists had been used without either justice or mercy, and that many of the Protestant Bishops of King Charles had neither more religion nor humanity than the Popish Bishops of Queen Mary.' Not that he was undiscriminating in his praise of Puritanism, for in 1747, speaking of earlier ejections, he had said that he was amazed, 'First, at the execrable spirit of persecution which drove those venerable men out of the Church. . . . Secondly, at the weakness of those holy confessors, many of whom spent so much of their time and strength in disputing about surplices and hoods, or kneeling at the Lord's Supper.'

As a matter of fact it was a characteristic of Wesley that, however unbending he might be in controversy regarding matters of the faith, yet at the same time he was singularly impressionable in his appreciation of the personality of even his opponents, be they Romanists or heretics or schismatics; and he was always ready to learn from them.

And we must always remember, what is often forgotten, that not all the

Puritans were Dissenters, or even Parliamentarians. As Keith Feiling has said recently in his *History of England*: 'Puritanism meant the moralizing of England. The Civil War found Puritan Cavaliers in plenty with a religion as deep, and a dislike of bishops as intense, as that of their enemies.' The clergy who stayed in the established Church in 1662 were not all time-servers. A noted eighteenth-century Dissenter, Orton, speaks appreciatively of those who 'kept in the Church to the last, though they held the main principles of the Puritans'. Even Jeremy Collier, the non-juror, was much of a Puritan in his morals.

What then can we say of the influence of this Puritanism, Anglican or Dissenting, on the growth of the Methodist movement?

In the first place we must beware of exaggerating the irreligion of the century. No doubt, on the surface, it was a brutal age. It was the century of the mob. There was a submerged tenth, especially in industrial and mining districts, where many of Wesley's triumphs were won, but speaking generally, as has especially been shown by Norman Sykes, in his *Church and State in England in the Eighteenth Century*, there was a background of religion, even if only of a formal and pedestrian kind. We do not often realize for example that in London in 1746 there were fifty-eight Churches maintaining services twice daily, at which attendance from the laity was not lacking. In Nash's Bath and in other watering-places, it was the regular thing for visitors to attend morning prayer daily. The appreciation of sermons, and their printed circulation, was great, as we can gather from Boswell's *Johnson*. Now although such an influence on the upper classes was to a great extent of a Latitudinarian nature, yet the middle classes, even in the established Church, retained much of the Puritan influence. It is extremely probable that the Bible was read more in England, and by a greater proportion of the people, than is the case today. To such a constituency Wesley could make his appeal. Although he gathered his converts by thousands from among those neglected by Church and society, yet the day-to-day work of organized Methodism was carried on by those who, in the previous century, would have been Puritans, either Anglican or Dissenting, and who still retained that sobriety of mind and sense of personal responsibility bequeathed to them by their predecessors. Matthew Henry's 'Commentaries', and Doddridge's *Family Expositor*, were still potent in their influence on family religion.

But, further, we have to realize the extent to which Wesley himself drew on the works of Puritan writers of the century before—the amazing eclecticism of his *Christian Library*, ranging from the Epistles of St. Clement of Rome and St. Ignatius downward, does not exclude such writings. The following are definite examples from writers of the Puritan school:

Vol.	<i>The Christian Library</i>	
7, 8, 9	<i>Meditations and Vows</i> —Bishop Hall ('the last of the Puritan bishops'—D.N.B.)	
	Extracts from and <i>Life of Robert Bolton</i>	
10	Extracts from works of John Preston	
	do	Richard Sibs
11	do	Thomas Goodwin ¹
	do	William Dell ¹

¹ Ministers ejected in 1662.

Vol.	
12-15	Sermons—Thomas Manton ² Works and <i>Life of Isaac Ambrose</i> ²
17-19	Works and <i>Life of John Owen</i> ²
20	<i>Memorials of Godliness</i> —Herbert Palmer
23-5	<i>Alarm to the Unconverted, etc.</i> —Joseph Alleine ² (Covenant Service in Vol. 24) Extracts and <i>Life of Samuel Shaw</i> ²
28	<i>The Spiritual Bee</i> —Samuel Rutherford
29	Extracts and <i>Life of Hugh Binning</i>
	<i>Contemplations</i> —Lord Chief Justice Hale
30	<i>Vindiciae Pietatis</i> (and reprint of Covenant)—Richard Alleine ²
31	Extracts from <i>Westminster Shorter Catechism</i>
32	<i>The Holy War</i> —John Bunyan ²
37	<i>Saints' Everlasting Rest</i> —Richard Baxter ²
38	Sermons by Samuel Annesley ²
39	Extracts—Stephen Charnock ²
	Sermons—Edmund Calamy ²
	<i>Rebuke to Backsliders</i> —Richard Alleine ²
43-4	<i>Navigation Spiritualized</i> —John Flavel ²
	Sermons—Samuel Annesley ²
47	<i>Nature of Godly Fear</i> —Richard Alleine ²
48	<i>The Living Temple</i> —John Howe ²
49-50	<i>Lives of Thomas Cawton</i> , ² Philip Henry, ² George Trosse ²

A formidable list (though, of course, the works do not comprise the whole of the volumes indicated by the numbers); and, besides showing the immense range of Wesley's reading, it shows how far he had travelled from the early prejudices of Epworth Parsonage. It must be noted, however, that it is to the purely religious side of these authors that he is attracted, their basic Puritanism, not their nonconformity. With political nonconformity he will have nothing to do. As for its leaders, he says of one character: 'He had many excellent qualities; but was full as far from being a Christian as Henry the Eighth or Oliver Cromwell.' Not that he was a great admirer of Charles the First. Although he considered him quite justified in refusing to sacrifice his friends when Parliament was unyielding in the Uxbridge negotiations, yet 'I believe the chief sin which brought the King to the block was his persecuting the real Christians. Hereby he drove them into the hands of designing men, which issued in his own destruction.'

A special word must be said here of the Covenant Service, which is twice mentioned above (Vols. 24 and 30). How familiar to Methodist ears for the past two hundred years have been Wesley's words concerning the origin of the one great and peculiar service of Methodism.

Wed. 6th August 1755. I mentioned to the congregation another means of increasing serious religion, which had been frequently practised by our forefathers [*sic!*] and attended with eminent blessing, namely, the joining in a covenant to serve God with all our heart, and with all our soul. I explained this for several mornings following, and on Friday many of us kept a fast unto the Lord, beseeching Him to give us wisdom and strength to promise unto the Lord our God and keep it.

Mon. 11th August. I explained once more the nature of such an engagement, and the manner of doing it acceptably to God. At six in the evening we met for that

² Ministers ejected in 1662.

purpose at the French Church in Spitalfields. After I had recited the tenor of the covenant proposed in the words of that blessed man, Richard Alleine,⁸ all the people stood up, in testimony of assent, to the number of about eighteen hundred persons, such a sight I scarce ever saw before. Surely the fruit of it shall remain for ever.

The institution of the Covenant Service is perhaps the supreme example of the blending of the old serious Puritan spirit with the new emotionalism of the eighteenth-century revival. We can imagine with what relief Wesley would turn from the strange wild scenes which sometimes accompanied his preaching to this solemn act in the French Church. So long as the Methodists could turn each year to a recollection of their obligations as Christians, and to a resolve to commit themselves once more to the lordship of Christ, so long would they be preserved from those perils of Antinomianism, which Wesley was always on his guard against; and by a strange irony, not uncommon in history, the idea of a Covenant which permeated much of the Church life of early Dissent has been forgotten by them, but retained by the Methodists who were at one time the objects of their deepest suspicion. To such an extent did it become a part of the Methodist tradition that, it is said, some of the early Methodists signed it with their blood.

A further way in which we can certainly trace the influence of Puritanism on Methodism is in its sabbatarianism. The strict observance of Sunday was not a universal result of the Reformation. It did not obtain in continental Protestantism—not even in Geneva. But in England (and, of course, in Scotland) it reached its fullest extent, even among high Churchmen, for it was they who passed the Lord's Day Observance Act in the reign of Charles the Second. But far more extreme were the Puritans, and it was their sabbatic observance which passed on to the Methodists during the eighteenth century. Wesley himself was most insistent on the duty of Sabbath keeping, and disciplinary measures often had to be taken against members of his societies for Sabbath breaking. Wesley had no doubt learnt his principles in an Anglican atmosphere, but one has only to recollect King James's *Book of Sports* to be reminded that it was the Puritans who had brought the change about.

If we were to look into the inner life and discipline of the early Methodist societies, we should find other evidence of the influence of a Puritan régime. Dr. Bebb says in his *Man with a Concern*: 'The Methodist Church discipline of the eighteenth century has no parallel in modern English ecclesiastical history. It is not too much to say that it would be regarded as intolerable by almost all members of any Christian communion in this country today.' But it was not altogether without precedent. The Church Meeting of Independency could wield quite as despotic an oversight of the lives of its members. And while Wesley never accepted the principles of the 'gathered Church', the religious Society originated and controlled by him inevitably developed into a Church—in which, however, disciplinary power was in the hands, not of the congregation, but of the Minister and the Leaders' Meeting.

In other less important ways the influence of Puritanism is manifest, such as Wesley's Rules concerning the wearing of jewellery and expensive clothes, and indulgence, such as taking snuff or tobacco. Probably the plain clothing of early Methodists was quite as noticeable as was that of the Quakers.

⁸ As a matter of fact the author was Joseph Alleine, son-in-law of Richard.

To Puritan influence also we may trace the bitter antagonism of early Methodists to the theatre, which not only forbade attendance at the theatre itself, but even led to John Pawson's interfering with the manuscripts left behind by Wesley, to the extent of burning Wesley's notes on Shakespeare's plays as 'not tending to edification'. There were many good things inherited by Methodism from the Puritans, but also there were less estimable things, such as a suspicion of beauty and an estrangement from the arts, and a tendency to overvalue those virtues which resulted in worldly prosperity—a tendency dreaded by Wesley himself, but against which he did not see any safeguard.

There is one final question to consider. We have spoken of the influence of seventeenth-century Puritanism and Dissent. What of the influence on Methodism of the Dissent of its own times? From what one can see there was very little of such influence. Wesley himself was continually warning his members against Dissent, against its Calvinistic doctrine, its censoriousness, its dreary worship. 'We are not Seceders, nor do we bear any resemblance to them. We set out upon quite opposite principles. The Seceders laid the very foundation of their work in judging and condemning others. We laid the foundation of our work in judging and condemning ourselves.' As regards doctrine, Orthodox Dissent was, as a rule, Calvinistic and therefore continually a subject of attack by the Wesleys. On the other hand, the 'non-subscribing' or unorthodox Dissenters were rapidly becoming Arian and even Unitarian, and, worse than that in Wesley's eyes, did not recognize the doctrines of Original Sin and the Atonement. The beliefs of Dissent were ultimately, and profoundly, influenced by the Methodist Revival, but the influence was not a reciprocal one.

There has been a tendency at times to exaggerate the number of Dissenters who became Methodists; but Richard Watson, who entered the ministry only five years after Wesley's death, tells us: 'It is gratuitously assumed that many Dissenters espoused Methodism, from whom a "leaven of ill will to the Church" has been derived. Not so many persons of this description ever became Methodists as to produce much effect upon the opinions of the body at large.' And of the thirty-seven early preachers whose lives are recorded in *Wesley's Veterans*, only one, Thomas Taylor, was brought up as a Dissenter.

It is true, however, that as Sunday worship gradually developed among the Methodists, and services began to be held in Church hours, the tendency was to neglect Wesley's advice to use the *Book of Common Prayer*, and exclusively to keep to extemporary prayer. The influence of Dissenters whose worship was similarly conducted must have been a very potent one, even if there was no conscious imitation. But there was one act of public worship, the supreme one of Holy Communion, where Puritan influence was not allowed to intrude, for the use of the Anglican service, and the practice of kneeling to receive the elements, was universal at any rate among the Wesleyan Methodists.

DUNCAN COOMER

Notes and Discussions

APROPOS WILLIAM BARNES (1801-86)

OWING to the popularity of a song, *Linden Lea*, by Vaughan Williams, some verses of William Barnes, the Dorset poet, are very widely known. But it is doubtful whether his work, as a whole, is now read by many. Mr. Giles Dugdale, who has recently published a new selection from Barnes, entitled *Poems Grave and Gay*,¹ wittily remarks: 'He is, of course, proudly admired by Dorset folk almost as much as Shakespeare and as little read.'

This is a pity, for a note of fundamental human sympathy is struck in most of his poems. This can be illustrated by his influence upon our leading composer. It may well be argued that the impact of Barnes upon Vaughan Williams helped to quicken his musical genius just as English folk-song did. There is no denying that his settings of Barnes, not only of *Linden Lea*, but also *The Winter's Willow* and *Blackmoure by the Stour*, are far more spontaneous than his earlier songs to words by Tennyson. This is surely sufficient recommendation to make further acquaintance with Barnes.

Although he wrote a good deal in ordinary English, his most characteristic poems are in the Dorset dialect. Is this an obstacle to appreciation? Quite possibly. We are a strange people. I have known singers who attempt the *Lieder* of Schubert, Brahms, and Wolf on a slender knowledge of German, and do not mind making the necessary effort, rather than sing a vernacular translation, even when good versions by A. H. Fox Strangways and Steuart Wilson exist. But when I have tried to get them interested in the songs of the contemporary Scottish composer, Francis George Scott, they have been unwilling to attempt coming to terms with the Scottish dialect. Are the poems of Burns, who is recognized as a major poet throughout the British Isles, so closed a book to the English? Certainly not his lyrics. After all, they are close in idiom to the language of our Border ballads.

Speaking for myself, and not being a man of Dorset, I find I can obtain great pleasure from reading Barnes, even if I cannot hear in the imagination the actual local intonations, but mentally translate them into so-called standard English. It was, I believe, the opinion of Gerard Manley Hopkins, no mean judge, that the poems of Barnes withstood this translation better than did those of Burns.

The use of dialect may also lead to creating a wrong impression on the reader's mind. Glancing quickly at Barnes's poems, and noting the homely subject matter, a reader might jump to the conclusion that they are just the type of thing that does appear in local rags—much of Barnes's work is said to remain hidden in the files of the *Dorset County Chronicle*. No editor or publisher has yet ventured a complete collected edition.

Although Barnes, who was born at Rushay, near Sturminster-Newton, in 1801, wrote in dialect and took his subjects from scenes and aspects of everyday

¹ Longmans (Dorchester) Ltd., 6s. 6d.

country life, he was not a simple man. He had a very practical side and liked making things for himself. He was successively clerk, draughtsman, schoolmaster, and rector of Winterbourne Came. It is true that he was a local poet; but he had mastered several languages, including Persian and Hindustani. These accomplishments did not affect his subject matter, and therefore cannot be claimed as a formative influence in the way that Holst's study of Sanscrit was.

Barnes kept his diary in Italian and he was one of the few Englishmen to learn Welsh. That did have an influence upon his art, for he experimented with the principle of the *cynganedd*, defined by Geoffrey Grigson, an authority on Barnes, as 'the Welsh repetition of consonantal sounds in the two parts of a line, divided by a caesura'. A good instance is in the line, 'Do lean down low in Linden Lea', where the consonantal pattern is 'DLNDNL/NLDNL'.

He devoted much attention to problems of philology and stressed the importance of purity of language, seemingly being willing to sacrifice the Latin element in our tongue. His advocacy of 'folkwain' instead of 'omnibus' has become a familiar piece of literary humour. He also pondered aesthetics, and contributed to *Macmillan's Magazine* an article, 'Thoughts on Beauty and Art'. The extracts from this that Mr. Geoffrey Grigson gave in his essay on Barnes in *The Mint* make one wish that the whole article could be reprinted.

Mr. Dugdale, in his Foreword (Barnes would have frowned upon 'Preface' and in one place substitutes 'Foresay'), refers to his attachment to the ancient Bardic tradition: 'He attached great value to the wisdom of the Triads which rings true in relation to his own poetry. These were the three truths of song: True Fancy, True Arrangement, and True Metre; three things necessary for poetic genius: an eye to see Nature, a heart to feel Nature, and boldness to follow Nature.' And Barnes himself remarked: 'As to my Dorset poems and others, I wrote them so to say, as if I could not well help it. The writing of them was not work, but like the playing of music, the refreshment of the mind from care or irksomeness.'

Besides Thomas Hardy, who was greatly indebted to Barnes, three so differing figures as Edmund Gosse, Francis Turner Palgrave, and the Rev. Francis Kilvert, whose interesting diary was recently introduced to us by William Plomer, have left pen portraits of him. Kilvert describes him in his seventies, Gosse in his eighties, but their portraits tally. Here is Kilvert's:

He is an old man, over seventy, rather bowed with age, but apparently hale and strong. 'Excuse my study gown', he said. He wore a dark-grey loose gown, girt round the waist with a black cord and tassel, black knee-breeches, black silk stockings, and gold-buckled shoes. I was immediately struck by the beauty and grandeur of his head. It was an Apostolic head, bald and venerable, and the long soft silvery hair flowed on his shoulders and a long white beard fell upon his breast. His face was handsome and striking, keen yet benevolent, the finely pencilled eyebrows still dark and a beautiful benevolent loving look lighted up his fine dark blue eyes when they rested upon you. He is a very remarkable and a very remarkable-looking man, half hermit, half enchanter.

Kilvert was conscious of the honour that was being bestowed on him. 'This', he wrote, 'will always be a happy and memorable day in my remembrance.

Today I visited and made the acquaintance and I hope the friendship of William Barnes, the great idyllic poet of England.' There could scarcely be a juster epithet for Barnes. He told Kilvert that 'in describing a scene he always had an original in his mind, but sometimes he enlarged and improved upon the original'. He took exception to Tennyson who, he said, 'even if he did not mean to ridicule the Northern Farmer, at least had no love for him and no sympathy with him'.

Barnes is rightly included in Walter de la Mare's anthology, *Love*, although he is not a poet of the passions. Could continuing and deepening love be better expressed than in this?

*We now mid hope vor better cheer,
My smilen wife o' twice vive year.
Let others frown, if thou bist near
Wi' hope upon thy brow, Jeane;
Vor I vu'st lov'd thee when thy light
Young sheape vu'st grew to woman's height;
I loved thee near, an' out o' zight,
An' I do love thee now, Jeane.*

*An' we've a-trod the sheenen bleade
Ov eegrass in the summer sheade,
An' when the leaves begun to feade
Wi' zummer in the weane, Jeane;
And we've a-wander'd drough the groun'
O' swayen wheat a-turnen brown,
An' we've a-stroll'd together roun'
The brook an' drough the leane, Jeane.*

*An' nwone but I can ever tell
Ov all thy tears that have a-vell
When trials meade thy bosom zwell,
An' nwone but thou o' mine, Jeane;
An' now my heart, that heaved wi' pride
Back then to have thee at my zide,
Do love thee muore as years do slide,
An' leave them times behind, Jeane.*

Kilvert records that Barnes agreed with one of his visitors in liking the 'pathetic pieces' best; and, in *The Wind at the Door*, how well he has handled a subject that might so easily become morbid or mawkish:

*As day did darken on the dewless grass,
There, still, wi' nwone a-come by me
To stay a-while at hwome by me
Within the house, all dumb by me,
I zot me sad as the eventide did pass.*

*An' there a win' blast shook the rattlen door,
An' seemed, as win' did muoan without,
As if my Jeane, alwone without,
A-stannen on the stwone without,
Were there a-come wi' happiness oonce muore.*

*I went to door; an' out vrom trees above
 My head, upon the blast by me,
 Sweet blossoms were a-cast by me,
 As if my Love, a-past by me,
 Did fling em down—a token ov her love.*

*'Sweet blossoms o' the tree where I do murn,'
 I thought, 'if you did blow vor her,
 Vor apples that should grow vor her,
 A-vallen down below vor her,
 O then how happy I should see you kern!'*

*But no. Too soon I voun my charm a-broke.
 Noo comely soul in white like her—
 Noo soul a-steppen light like her—
 An' nuvone o' comely height like her
 Went by; but all my grief agean awoke.*

Mr. Grigson has pointed out Barnes's fondness for a plain contrast of colours, blue and white, for example. I should like to draw attention to his great use of 'sound', as in any of the following lines:

Or did zing wi' zingen drushes

*What shrill voaice is now a-callen
 Hwome the deairy to the pails*

*Did scrunchy sharp below our veet
 Beyond thy sweet bells' dyen sound',
 As they do ring, or strike the hour,
 At even vrom the wold red tow'r.*

Do hide a triklen gully-bed.

The sound of the closing of a farmyard gate is strikingly made use of in his last dialect poem, dictated shortly before his death in 1886.

*In the sunsheen of our summers
 Wi' the haytime now a-come,
 How busy wer we out a-yield
 Wi' vnu a-left at hwome,
 When waggons rumbled out ov yard
 Red wheeled, wi' body blue,
 And back behind 'em loudly slamm'd
 The geate a-vallen to.*

*Drough day sheen for how many years
 The geate ha' now a-swung,
 Behind the veet o' vull-grown men
 And vootsteps of the young
 Drough years o' days it swung to us
 Behind each little shoe,
 As we tripped lightly on avore
 The geate a-vallen to.*

*In evenen time o' starry night
How mother zot at huome
And kept her blazing vier bright
Till father should ha' come,
And now she quickened up and smiled,
And stirred her vier anew,
To hear the trampen hosses' steps
And geate a-vallen to.*

*There's moonsheen now in nights o' Fall
When leaves be brown vrom green,
When to the slammen of the geate
Our Jenny's ears be keen,
When the wold dog do wag his tail,
And Jean could tell to who,
As he do come in drough the geate
The geate a-vallen to.*

*And oft do come a saddened hour
When there must goo away
One well-beloved to our heart's core,
Vor long, perhaps vor aye,
And oh! it is a touchen thing
The loven heart must rue
To hear behind his last farewell
The geate a-vallen to.*

Form and content are in harmony and are one. Was not Coventry Patmore right to insist upon the classical quality in the art of William Barnes?

STANLEY A. BAYLISS

HOW MANY CHRISTOPHER FRY'S?

SOME CRITICS who are acclaiming Mr. Christopher Fry as the man who is bringing poetry back to the English stage are also suggesting that there are two of him: the earlier Fry who is Christian and little known, and the later who is secular and drawing the town. They add that he should develop his secular self and not bother with any more Christian plays. If this were true it would be tragic: is there any such distinction?

What do we understand by 'Christian Drama'? Hugh Ross Williamson has defined it as drama on a specifically Christian subject, and drama on any subject written under the eye of the Holy Trinity. To appreciate the Christian content of the second type, we often need the 'oblique approach'. W. M. Merchant, writing in *The Teaching Church Review*, May 1949, is convinced that 'the great body of created material which we know as English literature is patient of a Christian interpretation, that most of its depth and complexity cannot be understood except as an expression of the temper and values of Western Christendom'.

In that light let us look at Fry's two recent plays. *The Lady's Not For Burning* (set in England, 1400) concerns Jennet, a young woman in danger of being burned as a witch, and Thomas, a discharged soldier trying to get himself hanged for murder. When we learn that he is claiming to have murdered the very man she is accused of having turned into a dog, we realize, with Jennet, that he is creating a diversion to save her, even at the cost of his own life.

In an exquisite love-scene between two supporting characters, Richard the foundling, and Alizon, who has been betrothed by her guardians to Humphrey, a man she scarcely knows, there is a speech which epitomizes Christian trust. When Alizon and Richard find each other, she says:

*Our Father God
Moved many lives to show you to me.
I think that's how it must have been.
It was complicated, but very kind.*

Richard and Alizon, having run away to be married, risk their own happiness by running back to tell people they have found the old man alive, so no one can burn Jennet or hang Thomas.

At the end, before Thomas and Jennet go out together to seek safety and happiness, Thomas, putting his coat round her ragged shoulders, says:

And may God have mercy on our souls.

The 'purely secular' playwright does not usually bring down his final curtain on such a line.

Venus Observed concerns the Duke of Altair, who is awaiting three ladies—Rosabel, Jessie, and Hilda—for his son Edgar to decide which he—the Duke—is to marry. (Later we learn that his wife died in giving birth to Edgar.)

A fourth lady, Perpetua, arrives unexpectedly; the Duke decides he would rather marry her, but she and Edgar fall in love, and his desire is thwarted.

Fry, like Browning, sometimes makes lightning leaps from one aspect of his idea to another with the intervening steps left out. Sometimes the leaps are too wide for good theatre; study proves that they often show the Christian direction of his thought. While in the gloom of an eclipse of the sun (in Act I) Jessie asks:

*Are we really
As bright as the moon, from the moon's point of view?*

The Duke replies that we have a borrowed brilliance:

*Here we're as dull as unwashed plates; out there
We shine. That's a consideration. Come
Close to paradise, and where's the lustre?*

Again, the Duke, discussing the financial irregularities of his agent Reedbeck, whom he loves and does not want to punish, says:

*No doubt
He'll have to stand in a corner of heaven with his face
To a jasper wall . . .*

Even more striking is when the Observatory has been set on fire, and the Duke and Perpetua first notice the smell of burning. Perpetua thinks it must be the falling stars scorching the air, but the Duke (whom she has just refused to marry) asks:

*Or is it
The smell of man being born to trouble? Or both
The upward sparks and the downward stars together?*

Rosabel's faith in life and love has been warped; it was she who set fire to the Observatory (not knowing the Duke and Perpetua were inside) because she believed that his preoccupation with stars prevented normal human reactions in his heart. When, as he says,

*So much I delighted in,
Is now all of ash, like a dove's breast feathers,
Drifting dismally about the garden,*

she is overcome with remorse:

*Time and I both know how to bring
Good things to a bad end, all
In the name of love. No wonder
'God be with you' has become 'Good-bye',
And every day that wishes our welfare says
'Farewell'.*

She goes, but when he learns that she has given herself up to the village policeman, and Reedbeck's son Dominic (the one priggish character in the play) smugly remarks that he helped her to that decision, the Duke turns on him in fury:

*You strapping,
Ice-cold, donkey-witted douche of tasteless water,
I could willingly—Dominic, dear boy,
God would tell me He loves you, but then God
Is wonderfully accomplished, and to me
You seem less lovely, and for this good reason:
You think more of the sin than of the sinner.
Poor Rosabel. Where shall we find her?*

He is too late to rescue her from the talons of the law—but he announces his intention to marry her when she has served her six months for arson! A Fry-ly mischievous twist—and a perfect example of radiant Christian forgiveness.

No, there is only one Christopher Fry.

JESSIE POWELL

THE LOVELIEST CHAPTER IN THE BIBLE

A Seaside Idyll

A DARING distinction to make, surely; and everyone will have his or her preference. For, of course, there are many passages in the Bible of peerless excellence, passages of sheer poetic beauty, of majestic rhythm, of exultant joy, of exquisite grief, of fierce denunciation, of pathos, of tragedy—and one star differeth from another star in glory. But to my mind the loveliest passage in all Holy Writ is one of simple prose narrative with a sprinkling of conversation—the last chapter of the Good News as told by Saint John.

Consider. The strife is o'er, the battle won. We know and see it all with the eyes of those who know, as the disciples then did not. Calvary, Golgotha—they have receded to the background. In the foreground is a risen Lord. After darkness, dawn; after the storm a great calm. It is sunset and evening star, and the Pilot himself is standing on the seashore. The seeming tragedy of the Cross ends on this quiet note by the seaside, under the wide, open sky, as though it were the studied artistic effect of some Greek dramatist. For whoever wrote the narrative had the Greek tragic sense of the fitness of things. For epilogue, after dark waters and thick clouds of the skies, he gives us a seaside idyll.

It is not in solemn temple, not even Solomon's temple, in no dwelling made with hands, that this joyful reunion takes place. Nor, though it is of the essence of drama, has it any special dramatic setting. Seven of the disciples were together—Simon Peter, rehabilitated, not even 'on probation', but restored to the glorious company of the apostles; Thomas called Didymus; guileless Nathanael of Cana in Galilee; the sons of Zebedee—their thunder strangely subdued—and two others who are anonymous: and they were all at the Sea of Tiberias.

Simon Peter saith unto them: 'I go a-fishing.' But not in the holiday mood in which the gentle art is usually plied. Rather for these troubled men it is the resumption of normal life and matter-of-fact livelihood. All this exciting distraction of the last three years is over and done. They too are minded to say: 'It is finished.' Better get back to hard facts, to our old humdrum ways. True, we trusted that it had been he which should have redeemed Israel. But somehow the scheme has gone all 'agley'. We have mistaken. Least said, soonest mended. 'We also go with thee.'

They went forth, and entered into a ship immediately; and that night they caught nothing.

So it was in the chill light of common day that the Master appeared to them, speaking commonplace words of everyday significance: 'Children, have ye any meat?' But the disciples knew not that it was Jesus.

So first we have this homely, informal meal on the seashore, but in an amazed silence, for none of the disciples durst ask him, Who art thou? knowing that it was the Lord.

Then comes the deeply-moving questioning of the fallible Peter: 'Simon,

son of Jonas, lovest thou me more than these?' This is the only hint of remembrance of those things which are behind. Peter, who has thrice denied his Lord, is thrice to be asked, 'Lovest thou me?' He is to be assured of what baptism he is to be baptized with. This is no longer the self-confident Peter we have known in former days. He is still impulsive. The moment the disciple whom Jesus loved said to him, 'It is the Lord', Peter girt his fisher's coat unto him and did cast himself into the sea. He had done that before. But now he is less sure of himself. The Rock is tremulous. Desperately he breaks out: 'Lord, thou knowest all things; thou knowest that I love thee.' And further to fortify him against the day of trial he is told by the Master by what death he should glorify God. The Rock will hardly shake again, unless caught with dissimulation. Henceforth the Rock will be the Church against which the very gates of Hell shall not prevail.

Meanwhile he is still the irrepressible, unsuppressible Peter; for not all at once or altogether are we purged of our dross. There is still some question of the other disciple to be settled, the disciple whom Jesus, as Professor W. P. Patterson used to phrase it, pre-eminently loved, that disciple of whom the others are just a little jealous. It is all so true to human nature, so naive, so ingenuous. 'Lord, and what shall this man do?' But the Master puts the inquisitive one aside with gentle, deprecatory smile: 'If I will that he tarry till I come, what is that to thee? Follow thou me.'

So the writer gravely proceeds to the end of his story: 'This is the disciple which testifieth of these things, and wrote these things; and we know that his testimony is true.' And then only at the last, as it were, realizing the utter inadequacy of pen or tongue, does he give way to a magnificent hyperbole about the world itself not being able to contain the books that should be written about the things which Jesus did, if they should be written every one.

What a chapter! Bare, unadorned prose narrative, and fragmentary conversation. But how pregnant every word, how fraught with meaning! What austere restraint! Think how much has not been said, how much more might have been said! No harking back to yesterdays that are gone. No undue anxiety about the morrow. No specific Rules and Regulations of this King for his Kingdom. Not even 'points' for his League of Nations. Simply this bread-word cast on the waters—Follow me!—to be borne on the waters and upgathered on earth-girdling seas, with what sequel of mighty cathedrals and lowly Bethels, the Church visible and invisible!

Finally, the picture, surely unforgettable—the lonely seashore, the lapping waves, the rocking boat, the improvised meal, the awe-stricken fisher folk, the unearthly stillness, the mysterious guest who is the Light, the Light that for ever is on land or sea.

J. MINTO ROBERTSON

THE SACRED ELEMENT IN MUSIC

From the writings of Charles Kennedy Scott

*Let not my soul be mute;
String me a larger lute,
With iron strings;
And with my spirit's might
I'll sing, in Time's despite,
Eternal things.*

GRANTED that religion is the faculty of the infinite and exalted, a little thought will suggest that sacred music may or may not convey this. Examples of music that has words purporting to be religious, but whose notes leave an impression of the finite and the lowly, will spring only too readily to mind.

It seems opportune then to consider which elements in music give us a true experience of worship. In his Preface to *Fifty Sacred Songs*, Scott says: 'The history of the Chorale shows a steady approach from the impersonal style of Gregorian melody to the intensely personal and introspective qualities of the Hymn of the time of Bach. In some ways even the Bach Chorale marks a degeneration in the dignity and nobility of the ancient hymn. Bach's harmonizations, though extremely beautiful, have not the simple strength of sixteenth-century harmonizations. They express too much; already they are outside the domain of strictly Church art. It is a question of degree, and of the gradual transition of the older ecclesiastical spirit to more modern methods and sentiment, with no absolute, fixed line of demarcation; so that even with the Chorale treatment of Bach himself we are in an atmosphere into which the personal element (which is none other than the solo element) has largely penetrated, if it is not wholly dominant.'

In this magnificent passage, Scott sums up the salient points of a philosophy of sacred music wrought over many years—half a century in fact—supported and clarified by his other writings. We will take his points one by one and see where he has developed it in years gone by.

'They express too much.' In the Preface to *Social Worship*, Scott says: 'What is the true power of Gothic art? Is it not that by its very vagueness it carries the soul to mystic heights, to heights that we may perhaps fail to realize when confronted by the flesh? Such heights are always there; the clear outlines of the meanest flower may give us thoughts too deep for tears; only we may not realize this when we see such perfect exterior beauty. We may be satisfied by the appeal to the senses. Vagueness is always suggestive of spirit and infinity. . . . Primitive forms of art invariably make a strong appeal to the imagination—to our sense of the unearthly and detached—because of this vagueness in their expression.'

'The domain of strictly Church art.' 'Through Gothic art the mind was carried over large spaces. It suggested breadth of vision, even though what was seen was not made fully clear. The greatness and mystery of existence were there,

though it lacked the touch of concrete reality. And this is one of the chief characteristics of Church art. The broad, impersonal outlook must predominate. Church art is not satisfied by merely private feeling. It is destined to rouse individual feeling, but, because this is so, it must be infinitely bigger than the individual; for many hearts have to be touched, and therefore humanity as a whole must be represented.'

'An atmosphere in which the personal element . . . is dominant.' 'The fault of modern religious art lies in its undue assertion of the personal note. Although it attempts the expression of the largest issues, it does so in a way that apparently only a single individual is concerned. This is not Church art, though infinitely delicate religious feeling may be shown. A comparison of George Herbert with, say, the Roman liturgy will immediately make this clear. With one we have lyric expression—a revelation of the soul of George Herbert which will move us profoundly if we are of the same temperament as he. But we read his poems in secret; the thoughts are too tender and intimate for public presentation. With the other we have the majesty of epic expression, a revelation of the common soul of humanity to be delivered in the midst of people, and gaining, not losing, when this is done. If it is to be of such a nature as will truly bind people together and cement their fellowship in a common experience, Church art must be of this broad kind, abstract or concretely symbolical. "Nothing is good without respect," and if we do not respect the circumstances for which we would ostensibly cater, then the result must be insignificant. As I have implied, Church art at the present day is on the whole deplorable in its disrespect of circumstance.'

But Scott would be, nay, has been, among the first to recognize that the past has no ability to express fully our own devotion in worship; that however much it may arouse our numinous sense, it is not sensitive to all the delicate tendrils of our minds.

'The gradual transition . . . to more modern methods.' 'It must not be assumed that the old composers deliberately chose the style they used for religious purposes. It happened to fit religious expression admirably in a sense, since religion must deal in spiritual issues, and the old art is of infinite suggestiveness in this respect, particularly to us moderns. But we are not entitled to assert more than this—to say that theirs is religious art, and that no other may be. The old art is beautiful, but in a sense it is the beauty of death rather than of life, it is the beauty of repose rather than of action, of adoration and submission rather than joy and affirmation. Joy and life and action could only be supplied when art had passed the Gothic stage.'

Art passed the Gothic stage irrevocably with the Renaissance, characterized as a whole by Cyriac of Ancona in words used by him hundreds of years before: 'I go to awaken the dead.' From the Renaissance on, 'Art, which had previously been conterminous with the Roman Church, had definitely taken leave of Church doctrine.' For the influence which brought the Renaissance about came, 'not by a change from within, but by an influence from without. This influence was frankly pagan.' 'It was not a mere searching out of antiquity; it was the adoption of the antique spirit, the awakening of enthusiasms which had remained dormant in the purely Christian consciousness.'

However much the new spirit was applied in the service of the Church, it

was not without its dangers. 'Just as the old had stressed the soul beyond its true function, so the new has stressed the body.'

'Broad social values have been largely lost sight of in the quest for individuality. Worldliness has often usurped the place of high vision. We have become immensely sensitive to small things, to the subtlety of personal mood and countenance; we have analysed human nature to the utmost refinement. For the most part, since the Renaissance, the greatest spirits, as with Shakespeare, have been engaged in holding the mirror up to nature, in expressing a sympathetic view of life, not in adapting the view to the highest issues of conduct. Such a problem has never been solved yet. The Greeks did not do it, for they were concerned in the main with their relation to outward nature, and not to inward conscience. Christianity has not done it, for though it realized to the full the meaning of duty, it misunderstood outward nature. A new synthesis is needed, such as will make virtue feel at home in the world—a harmony of the internal and external must be declared.'

We may be led to question whether we have used our mature powers to the full; whether we have not made the worst of both worlds.

'It is possible to use time and space, while carrying the mind to ideas far beyond. This is life at its noblest and best. If we refuse this principle we must deny to the painter and sculptor the power of religious expression; for they must work through space. We must refuse the musician also, for he must work through time; while the poet is in a similar plight. How, then, shall we interpret our religious sense? What means shall we take to arouse it in others? Such considerations teach us at once the true lines of religious utterance, and upon what it must be based.'

'Surely the truth is that we must revise our estimate of "abstract". Have we not considered this term as something which deals in pure spirit, as something drawn wholly away from the flesh?—whereas we should view it as a power of the flesh. The human mind is able to consider qualities apart from their context—to consider love, for instance, as apart from those who love; and this has led to the dissociation of the soul from the body. Of the soul we know, but of its radiance in human form we are but dimly aware. There will ever be room for an abstract treatment of conduct. The Beatitudes will never fail in their truth and beauty. We shall always repose on their broad generalizations as upon some sustaining sea of truth. But we shall characterize those generalizations in a thousand varied forms. As nature herself is myriad in her manifestations, so love and pity will appear in many shapes. Yet those shapes will always symbolize the ultimate, the "force from the heights". We shall use the body, but only to display the soul. We shall assert ideas, not persons; Man, not men.'

Scott has a profound and penetrating optimism for the future of Church art, related empathically to a personal knowledge of God.

'The unavoidable naïve generalizations of the past do not satisfy us; for, as expressions of comparatively primitive technique, they have not the variety and definition for which we now yearn. Neither does self-conscious modern art fulfil our deepest needs. We have been through the stage of individual expression—perhaps it is not yet concluded—and now, or shortly, must again conceive of things as a whole.'

'With our knowledge of the individual, a grander synthesis than ever is possible. We shall always turn to the mystery of innocence as to a little child. The virgin soul of a Palestrina will never fail in its appeal—deeper knowledge makes it even the more lovely. Only the adult can see the true beauty of childhood; and in our own work we must return to the single-mindedness and simplicity of the child, but with a man's power, conscious and strong.'

'I believe there will be a great revival of religious feeling, of sympathies tuned to the wonder and mystery of life and to the needs of citizenship. It will show itself, as I have suggested, more in the concrete than in the abstract—in symbolic drama, sculpture and painting, and in poetry of an absolutely natural kind; in the imaginative presentation of truth and goodness; not so much in creeds, discussion, and definitions. We shall not only talk of virtue as of some far-off thing, we shall create virtuous types in our search for the type of virtue. We shall not only talk of the forces by which we are saved, we shall show them in radiant human beings. We shall not veil our faces before the good as before some holy, unapproachable thing, we shall gaze into it to discern its secret, or such of it as may be known. And the big heart will show itself in the big style; and by just so much as it does so shall we perceive it.'

Impossible to add to, or comment upon, thinking and imagination of this quality. It speaks direct. But perhaps it will not be out of place to add the quotation on the first page of *Word and Tone*.

*All waits for the right voices; •
Where is the practis'd and perfect organ?*

Where is the developed soul?

For I see every word uttered thence has deeper, sweeter, new sounds, impossible on less terms.

It takes a higher courage than most of us possess to 'hope till hope creates from its own wreck the thing it contemplates'. But we may all gain from the work of men who have. Believing, in his own words, that 'technically, singing is a splendid game; interpretatively, it is a splendid adventure of the soul', Scott has spent his life fashioning a technique in which the 'practis'd and perfect organ, the develop'd soul' may function together. In *Word and Tone* he expresses this technique with great detail, harmonizing it throughout with the religious insight displayed in the passages quoted above. This book,¹ published in 1933, has just been reprinted.

CHARLES CLEALL

¹*Word and Tone*, by Charles Kennedy Scott (E. J. Dent and Sons, 12s. 6d., 2 vols.).

Recent Literature

The Concept of Deity, by E. O. James. (Hutchinson, 18s.)

These Wilde Lectures, given at Oxford during the war, are for the fairly advanced student, making no concessions to the general reader. The range of their learning is remarkable, the hold on the subject is masterly, and the style of writing combines elegance with scientific precision. There is ample and up-to-date documentation. The approach is inductive: religious experiences, beliefs, and practices are regarded as facts to be described, ordered, and compared across all distances of space and time. Only occasionally is a philosophical evaluation indicated. Attention is restricted almost entirely to primitive religions and the first formative stages of the outstanding faiths. This limitation is so regularly adopted that one wonders whether our authorities on the science of religion have resigned themselves to it. But ought not the science to be extended or developed to modern experience? Prof. James's book is neither a history nor an assessment of the concept of deity, but a series of studies of the recurrent forms and aspects of that concept—e.g., providential function, Nature-worship, pantheism, anthropomorphism, monolatry and monotheism, and dualism, all illustrated with a wealth of data. The writer's scientific caution makes him so sparing of generalization that one is left wondering what this or that group of *data* amounts to; but we are here in a field where the material, partly because of its magnitude and complexity and partly because of tantalizing gaps, has not yet been assimilated scientifically. The chief generalization that Prof. James allows himself is that religion arose, not as an effort after explanation, but as a way of feeling and acting in the situations of life, myth being not only a later development but also a tale rather than a pictured creed and, therefore, belonging more to art than to religion. In other words, religion began with the sense of the numinous and with belief in the providential control of everyday happenings.

T. E. JESSOP

Dieu à l'Image de l'Homme, by Frank Michaeli.

L'Institution et l'Événement, by Jean-Louis Leuba.

Le Renouveau biblique, by S. de Diétrich.

(Delachaux et Niestlé, francs suisses 6.50, 6.50, and 5.75 respectively.)

Voltaire said that God made man in His image, but that man had returned the compliment. M. Michaeli, of the Paris Protestant faculty, takes up this sneer and maintains that, far from proving scepticism, anthropomorphism is necessary to human thought which is an echo of that of God. He proves his contention by a detailed study of the biblical evidence. The first part of *God in Man's Image* deals with many Old Testament expressions—the corporal attributes of God: His face, eyes, etc. (but never His body or flesh); the actions of God: He sees, hears, and so on; the feelings of God: His love, jealousy, anger, etc.; the titles of God, His abode, and the theophanies. A second section treats of the attenuations or spiritualizations of anthropomorphism, not only in the later rabbinical theology and allegorizing, but in the earlier canonical writings. There is a progressive moralization of the relations between God and man, a withdrawal of God, and the appearance of intermediaries. Nevertheless, M. Michaeli insists that anthropomorphism never wholly disappears, just because God is always in living and constant touch with man. The third part of the book compares biblical language about God with that of other forms of religion. God is holy, as against the gods of pagan mythology; there is no sexual partnership or scandal such as undermined faith in classical divinities. God is living, as against the idols of paganism. God is personal, as against the vagueness of the Supreme Being of philosophy. The conclusion is that 'it is certain that the Incarnation is the normal prolongation of anthropomorphism'. This is a valuable and well-documented work.

M. Leuba, of Bâle, is much less convincing. He studies the opposition between institutional and charismatic forms of religion, roughly between 'catholic' and 'protestant'. He finds a dualism of 'institution' and 'event' from the beginning of the New Testament. Jesus had two sorts of titles, institutional and spiritual—Son of David or Christ, and Son of Man or Lord. Even the Virgin Birth is made to show that Jesus was both Davidic and extra-Davidic; while the Resurrection was in two modes, at Jerusalem and in Galilee. There is said to be an apostolic dualism of the Twelve against Paul. M. Leuba maintains that the New Testament dualism is of perpetual validity, for the writer cannot admit that the Church should unite what the Bible had kept separate. The argument is forced and inconclusive. There are several pages of bibliography, but no British authors are quoted.

The Biblical Renewal, or revival, is a 'practical manual of biblical studies' for private students and Church groups. Moderately modern, yet strongly evangelical, its chief purpose is to apply the Bible in Church life. Successive chapters deal with such subjects as the Gospels, the parables, the Epistles, the Law and the Prophets, and there are studies of special figures and symbolic stories. Ancient, Reformed, and modern exegetes are discussed, and indications given of the best practical commentaries and helps in English, French, and German. GEOFFREY PARRINDER

The Growth of the Old Testament, by H. H. Rowley. (Hutchinson's University Library, 7s. 6d.)

In several fields of Old Testament research old theories are being violently challenged, but the rival positions have not yet been securely established. Not least is this so in the field of literary criticism, and Professor Rowley has done us a great service by providing an admirable account of the present situation. The work is chiefly devoted to the problems of 'introduction'; but there is a short account of the Canon, and chapters on the Hebrew historian and his purpose, the nature of prophecy, and the character of Hebrew poetry. Both the older positions of 'critical orthodoxy' and the newer trends are described concisely, clearly, and fairly. To have so much information packed into so handy a volume will be a boon to the hard-pressed and bewildered student; and for further study he will find just the help he needs in the excellent, annotated bibliography. This book is now the short introduction to the literature of the Old Testament. G. W. ANDERSON

Studies in Old Testament Prophecy, edited by H. H. Rowley. (T. & T. Clark, 16s.)

The Jews from Cyrus to Herod, by H. N. Snaith. (Religious Education Press, 6s.)

The Christian Significance of the Old Testament, by A. J. B. Higgins (Independent Press, 8s. 6d.)

The Old Testament in the Church, by Joseph Woods (S.P.C.K., 9s. 6d.)

The first volume was 'Presented to Professor Theodore H. Robinson' by the Society for Old Testament Study on his sixty-fifth birthday, 9th August 1946. A handsome tome, containing the work of the foremost Old Testament experts, it worthily honours a great scholar. The studies all deal with Prophecy, but their range is so wide that only the most meagre indication of their contents can be given. Professor Albright gives a reconstructed Hebrew text of Habakkuk 3 with translation and notes; Professor Driver has an essay on 'Difficult words in the Hebrew prophets'; and Professor R. B. Y. Scott examines the literary structure of the oracles in First Isaiah. Professor A. R. Johnson writes on the cultic prayer in Jonah 2³⁻¹⁰, and Professor Pedersen of Copenhagen offers a study of the role played by inspired persons among the Israelites and Arabs, while Professor Porteous examines the basis of the ethical teaching of the prophets. An article (in French) by the late Professor Lods gives a transcription and translation of a cuneiform tablet from the time of Hammurabi, while Professor

Eissfeldt contributes a study (in German) continuing an examination begun by Lods on 'The death of the uncircumcized in Ezekiel'. The Editor of the book writes on 'The prophet Jeremiah and the book of Deuteronomy'. Professor S. A. Cook has a study of 'The age of Zerubbabel'. Two Methodist scholars treat of Deutero-Isaiah—Professor North dealing with the phrases 'the Former things' and 'the New things', and Professor Snaith 'The Servant of the Lord'. This catalogue of contributors and subjects cannot begin to convey the width of interest and depth of scholarship contained within the pages of this book, but to 'those who know' the names will be enough.

Dr. Snaith deals in his latest book with the tangled history of an important period. The first part presents clearly and helpfully the intricate story of the political background. Part II deals with the religious development of the period. The rise of separatism is examined, and there are chapters on 'The glorious future', 'Messiah', and 'Life after death'. The teaching on Demons and Angels, the Law, Wisdom, and the Logos is treated in the same authoritative and concise way. At the end there are two essays on 'Temple and Synagogue' and 'Pharisees, Sadducees, and Essenes'. For all students—and many others—this book will be a 'godsend'.

Dr. Higgins's book is 'addressed to the ordinary Christian who wants to know of what use is the Old Testament? How far and in what sense is (it) Christian scripture? What gives it its unity with the New Testament?' The assault on the Old Testament goes back to the heretic Marcion. His teaching is examined, as is the consequent inclusion of the Old Testament in the *Canon*. Dr. Higgins then turns to a study of some of the difficulties arising from crudity of thought and immaturity in morality in early Israel. Next, under the 'Christward look of the Old Testament', he traces the elements in her religion which find culmination and perfect articulation in Christianity. In an illuminating chapter the use of the Old Testament by the early Christians is closely examined and validated. Dr. Higgins finds the unity of the Bible in its doctrine of Salvation. Here the Old Testament teaching about the Suffering Servant is the most notable link with the New.

The fourth book is another strong and earnest plea for 'more attention to the greatness of our heritage in the Old Testament books'. In his introduction Mr. Woods quotes Dean Inge's phrase that the Old Testament is 'the Jews' old clothes'! He shows, on the other hand, that the New Testament writers 'rarely feel easy until they find a basis for their teaching in the Old Testament', whether it be in the Law, the Prophets, or the Writings. Mr. Woods both vindicates and illustrates this method. In Augustine's words: 'The law was given that grace might be sought; grace was given that the law might be fulfilled.' A note on the text of the Old Testament is to be commended for its comprehensive brevity. This timely and stimulating book does what it sets out to do.

T. POWLEY ADDISON

More Characters and Scenes from Hebrew Story, by H. L. Holland. (S.P.C.K., 4s. 6d.)

This adds yet another help for Day- and Sunday-school teachers. It contains sketches of lessons and narratives from Elijah to the fall of Jerusalem in A.D. 70. Most of them are from the Old Testament, but a few are from the Apocrypha and some from the New Testament. Not all are of equal value and the inclusion of some (e.g. the stories of Joash and the Jewish martyrs of Alexandria) may be questioned. There are also some out-worn ideas: the reference to 'the god Baal' (p. 4), the myth that the 'eye of a needle' was a gate in a city wall (p. 135), and the view that an apostle wrote Matthew's Gospel (p. 154). Apart from these minor faults, the book does achieve its aim and the author gives a vivid presentation of the narratives. The matter keeps fairly close to the biblical account. The book is intended for children from 7 plus to 10 plus, but many of the stories would be very suitable for older children as well.

H. A. GUY

An Introduction to New Testament Thought, by Frederick C. Grant. (Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, via The Epworth Press, \$3.75.)

We are accustomed to books which give an introduction to the literature of the New Testament, or an outline of the history of the Apostolic Church, or a more or less systematic New Testament Theology, but Professor F. C. Grant, one of the foremost American New Testament scholars, has given us something rather different—an introduction to the *thought* of the New Testament, or, as the sub-title expresses it, 'a comprehensive survey of the key ideas'. While there is no system of theology in the New Testament, Dr. Grant points out that its thought 'is moving in the direction of theology, and its first efforts in that direction are profoundly interesting as well as of profound importance for the whole later development'. His book, then, begins with a consideration of the general pattern, largely taken over from the Old Testament as interpreted by the early Christians in the light of their own religious experience. The religious thought of the first Christian Jewish group was necessarily transitional, for, as Gentiles came into the Church, they influenced to a considerable extent the presuppositions, terminology, and outlook of the Church. Yet this continual change in the expression of the Gospel was always balanced by the controlling influence of the Jewish scriptures, and by the worship, piety, and apostolic tradition of the fellowship. From the beginning the Church's Christology was central. Side by side with this we must recognize the fundamental importance of the Christian ethic and of the growing institutional life. While the Jewish strain in primitive Christianity is undeniable, the Judaism of the Dispersion had already been in some degree influenced by Hellenistic syncretism. This can be traced even in the Pauline letters, although the Jewish inheritance is so strongly marked in these writings. The Logos philosophy has left its impress on the Johannine Christology, and the writer to the Hebrews has marked affinities with the Philonic school. On almost every page some arresting thought rewards the student. This advanced critical scholar, the translator of Bultmann, Johannes Weiss, Dibelius, and Kundsin, maintains a balanced judgement where so many of his contemporaries rush to extremes. For instance, his treatment of the miracles of the Gospels and of the Virgin Birth shows the discrimination with which he handles controversial subjects. Two examples must suffice of his freedom from the presuppositions of a generation ago. While recognizing the different strains of thought within the New Testament, he refuses to accept the chronological series, Synoptics—Paul—John, as though there were a direct line of development from one to the other. We have rather to think of various movements of thought going on at the same time in different regions under a variety of influences. The other example is Professor Grant's freedom from the ecclesiastical prejudice which mars so much writing on the primitive Church by Anglican scholars. Without following B. H. Streeter blindly Dr. Grant agrees with him in declaring that it is impossible 'any longer to argue that one sole and exclusive type of ministry prevailed from the start, or had been authorized in advance by our Lord, or that only one type could be viewed as classical and normative, in contrast with which all others were only local or temporary aberrations'. This is a vitally interesting and important book.

W. F. HOWARD

The Beginning of the Gospel, by T. W. Manson. (Oxford University Press, 6s. 6d.; School Edition 5s.)

The Work and Words of Jesus, by A. M. Hunter. (S.C.M., 12s. 6d.)

The Man from Nazareth, by H. E. Fosdick. (S.C.M., 12s. 6d.)

The first of these books forms Part I of a new *Primer of Christianity*, the purpose of which is to describe briefly the historical origin of Christianity and its first message to the world. In a short introduction Professor Manson gives a penetrating account

of Jewish ideas about the Messiah in the first century and shows both how they were reinterpreted in the life, death, and resurrection of Jesus of Nazareth, and how the work of Jesus was continued in the life of His Church. This is followed by the text of St. Mark's Gospel translated afresh into modern English with brief comments. Finally four typical passages are selected from elsewhere in the New Testament to give some idea of the total impression made by Jesus on those who were nearest to the actual Ministry. It would be difficult to speak too highly of this excellent book. Only a great scholar could compress so much into so small a compass. Used alongside the Revised Version, the new translation will clear up many problems both for those who learn and for those who teach in schools, while the student of the Greek Testament will continually be grateful for the masterly way in which Professor Manson brings out clearly the meaning of difficult words or phrases.

Professor Hunter's book, written to meet the needs of divinity students, gives an account of the Ministry and Teaching of Jesus, based on the four sources which are commonly regarded as underlying the Synoptic Gospels. (Theological students will appreciate the appendix in which the R.V. text for Q, M, and L is printed in full.) The first two parts of the book deal briefly with the 'quest of the historical Jesus', sources and chronology, the historical and religious background of the Ministry, and the narratives relating to events before the Ministry began. The third and longest part studies the Ministry itself in some detail and summarizes the teaching of Jesus about the Kingdom of God, about Himself, about His Death and about the Future. As the title suggests, the 'words' of Jesus are subordinate to His 'work'. There is much vivid detail. As Dr. Hunter remarks, the 'conception of Jesus Christ, at once human and divine . . . has been the nerve of all truly vital Christianity down nineteen centuries'. This attractive book convincingly portrays both sides of the picture.

In *The Man from Nazareth* Dr. Fosdick has adopted what he describes as 'an indirect method of approach'. He has searched the Gospels for evidence that indicates the impression Jesus made on His contemporaries—whether Pharisees, Sadducees, nationalists, outcasts, or others—and endeavours to reconstruct what they felt and thought about Him. The concluding chapter stresses the 'timeless profundity' of Jesus and the relevance of His message to modern needs. W. F. FLEMINGTON

Chapters in the Life of Paul, by John Knox. (Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, via The Epworth Press, \$2.50.)

Under his modest title Dr. Knox combines critical acumen with sympathetic and imaginative understanding of Paul both as man and thinker. His critical thesis, in his own words, is that 'while we tend to harmonize Acts with the letters as regards the inner facts of Paul's life, we tend to harmonize the letters with Acts as regards the outer'. He thinks that the second is 'seriously distorting . . . for the letters represent a first-hand, the Acts a second-hand, source'. Following this principle, Dr. Knox doubts whether Paul was ever resident in Jerusalem or ever trained under Gamaliel and whether the scheme of three 'missionary journeys' is anything but an arbitrary creation of Luke (and even in Acts it is not as clear as it is in the text-books). He even dates the Council of Jerusalem after the apostle's *European* mission, and holds that Luke is so eager to locate all the decisive events in the early history of the Church at Jerusalem that he not only begins and ends his Gospel there instead of in Galilee, but begins Paul's Christian career there instead of in Damascus. These revolutionary theories are not based on mere speculation. For instance, when Paul says that, on his first visit to Jerusalem, he was 'unknown by face to the Churches of Judaea' (Galatians 1²²), this does seem to contradict the statement made in Acts 8³ that Saul had, before his conversion, carried on a house-to-house campaign of persecution in Jerusalem. Again, if Paul had really been 'trained at the feet of Gamaliel', would he not have

mentioned the fact in passages like Philippians 3^{4ff.}? Dr. Knox has very strong and persuasive reasons for every statement that he makes, whether we are convinced by them or not. He thinks that Luke avoids the statement that Paul actually saw the Lord in any of the three accounts of Paul's conversion in the Acts, apparently contradicting 1 Corinthians 11¹, 15^{6ff.}, because, in spite of his evident admiration for Paul, he does not wish to give him equality of apostolic status with the Twelve. In the only place in which Paul is called an 'apostle' in Acts (14^{4, 14}) he is bracketed with Barnabas; as Easton says, in the Acts Paul is an 'apostle through man, if he is an apostle at all' (see Acts 18³, and contrast Galatians 1¹). These are serious considerations, however disturbing they may be. We have only room for one or two references to the theological part of the book. 'When we read the phrase "Christ and Him crucified" we think first of the human Jesus . . . and our minds move forward to the Cross; when Paul wrote the phrase, he was thinking . . . of the risen exalted Christ, and his thought moved backward to the Cross.' The author's discussion of the almost complete absence in Paul's letters of the terms 'repentance' and 'forgiveness' is especially stimulating. This is a very remarkable book, as limpid in style as it is profound in thought.

J. A. FINDLAY

Thessalonians, by William Neil. (Hodder and Stoughton, 10s. 6d.)

The two letters which Paul wrote to the Thessalonians are less often read in public worship and in private devotion than most of the others. No one of the classic Pauline passages is found in them, although a few phrases from them are well known. The last of the Moffatt Commentaries is on these letters. It forms a fitting conclusion to this series. The intelligent layman, as well as the theological student and working minister, will find it serves his need. Dr. Neil has independence of judgement, a competent knowledge of the trends of recent study of the New Testament, and gifts as an expositor, which make his book the more valuable. In an Introduction of nearly fifty pages he gives a clear sketch of the historical circumstances in which these letters arose. He deals admirably with the critical questions which since F. C. Baur's time have exercised all commentators, maintaining that there is little or no reason to doubt the authenticity of the First Epistle, but admitting that the case is not so clear for the Second. He concludes, however, that the evidence does not lead us to believe that this letter is spurious, and that we should rather be content with the traditional view of Pauline authorship as 'a working hypothesis, admitting that, if it does not clarify all the difficulties, it covers most of them'. Another valuable part of the Introduction treats of the eschatology of these two letters. The commentary itself is a clear, incisive, and stimulating study of the ways in which Paul the pastor dealt with the difficulties and problems of the early Churches. Dr. Neil shows too how in these letters there is a living word of God for our day and generation.

F. B. CLOGG

The Epistle to Diognetus, by H. G. Meecham. (Manchester University Press, 18s.)

No students of early Christian literature need to be reminded of the importance of the *Epistle to Diognetus*. The latest, and one of the most thorough investigations into the questions which this *Epistle* raises has been made by Dr. H. G. Meecham in the book for which Manchester University awarded him the D.D. degree. Dr. Meecham agrees with those scholars who assign the *Epistle* to the middle, or latter half, of the second century. He is of opinion that the author cannot be identified. Andriessen's theory, that the *Epistle* is the *Apology of Quadratus* and that it was addressed to Hadrian, is examined sympathetically in an additional note, but good reasons are shown for not accepting it. Dr. Meecham discusses the form, vocabulary, and style of the *Epistle*, and also its relation to the Greek Bible and to other Christian writings. He agrees with those

who conclude that Chapters 11-13 were not a part of the original writing; and he gives a clear analysis of the teaching of the *Epistle*. These things are discussed in the introduction, which takes up nearly one half of the book. The Greek text and the English translation are followed by about sixty pages of very valuable notes, which witness to the breadth of scholarship and well-balanced judgement which are characteristic of the whole book. There is a select bibliography. This book will be warmly welcomed as an important contribution to the understanding of an *Epistle* which will always have an honoured place in the literature of the early Church.

F. B. CLOGG

Early Christian Creeds, by J. N. D. Kelly. (Longmans, Green & Co., 26s.)

One of the most momentous discoveries of the first age of the Church was that the given facts of the historic divine work, as recorded in Scripture, need to be interpreted by the consensus of faithful men within the Church. In the modern world, as in the ancient, a theology diluted with secular thought assails the Church, and we are making anew the ancient discovery. Here lies the spiritual as well as the theological significance of this masterly book. The use of solemn theological confessions as weapons of ecclesiastical politics is an unlovely aspect of Church history. How God providentially overruled this strife to the enshrining of those great Creeds which we today treasure as a chief bond of unity in a divided Church is a moving story. This great theme is the subject of this book. Canon Kelly surveys with great skill the evolution of creed-forms in the ancient Greek and Latin Church, the development therefrom of our 'Nicene' and 'Apostles' Creeds', and the stages by which these came to their present commanding position in the Church Universal. He shows how in the first period 'declaratory' creed-forms were summaries of catechetical instruction, not baptismal creeds proper, the confession of faith at Baptism being by three-fold interrogation. The Old Roman Creed shows a trinitarian formula wedded to a Christological formula descended from the primitive *kerygma*. There was no one prototype comparable to this in the East. The hypothesis that the Creed of Nicea was the Creed of Caesarea interpolated with the *homousion* is rejected. An explanation is made of the confusion which has arisen regarding the origin of the Constantinopolitan Creed, through failure to recognize that by 'the faith of the 318 Fathers' the writers of the period did not mean solely the formula of A.D. 325, but included any Creed in line with its distinctive terminology. The Creed of Constantinople (our 'Nicene') was adopted for a period by Rome as a baptismal creed, and seems to have been introduced into the Eucharistic Office by the Monophysites, out of spite for Chalcedon. The story of our Apostles' Creed is traced in the Church north of the Alps, as are its consolidation under the Frankish kings, and its eventual return to the source in Rome. The *expositions* of the teaching of these Creeds are also valuable. There is much in this book both for the specialist—who will wish to discuss the results of the author's original research, particularly on the relation of creeds to Baptism, and on the rise of the Old Roman and Apostles' Creeds—and likewise for the more general reader who may wish to look with understanding and love to the rock whence he was hewn.

JOHN LAWSON

Reformed Dogmatics, by Heinrich Heppe. (Geo. Allen and Unwin, 50s.)

This work appeared first in 1861, but in 1934 Ernst Bizet published a carefully revised edition, and this has now been translated into English by Dr. G. T. Thompson. In a Foreword Karl Barth expresses his sense of indebtedness to Heppe. When he was first called upon to lecture in Systematic Theology he felt that contemporary theologians had little help to offer him, and it was a great relief to be able to turn to this compendium of the theology of Calvinist divines. Dr. Thompson

says: 'To an age fed on the husks of human enlightenment and today craving for the true light of direct revelation Heppe is manna, and that in plenty.' Heppe introduces each subject with a statement of his own position and then adds the views of the most prominent Reformed theologians of three centuries. He covers the whole field of Christian theology. It is thus possible, with Heppe's aid, to discover in a few minutes the Reformed point of view on any doctrine. Those who teach theology will realize how invaluable a work this is. It is well produced and there is a good index. The book fulfils in a highly satisfactory way the task it sets out to achieve.

PERCY SCOTT

Sir Isaac Newton: Theological Manuscripts, selected and edited by H. McLachlan. (Liverpool University Press, 7s. 6d.)

This book, of less than 150 pages, has an interest and importance out of all proportion to its size. Here, for the first time, the general public is admitted to a secret hidden for more than two hundred years in the archives of the Earl of Portsmouth. Only now does it see the light of day through the industry of Dr. McLachlan, and the public spirit of the late Lord Keynes, who purchased the Portsmouth Papers and bequeathed them to King's College, Cambridge. It was commonly known in Newton's lifetime that he was an ardent Protestant, deeply versed in Biblical and patristic lore, but the extent of his interest was unknown save to a few, who read enough to deem it prudent to leave a great mass of manuscript unpublished in the interests of orthodoxy. In Dr. McLachlan's book we have only a minute selection from the '1,300,000 words in MSS. on theology in the Portsmouth Collection', but enough to show why the timorous souls who inspected the papers first, banned their publication. Newton stands revealed as a devout believer in Jesus who was 'a true man born of woman, crucified by the Jews for teaching them the truth', but beyond that he would not travel. '*Homoousion*', he said, 'is unintelligible. 'Twas not understood in the Council of Nice, nor ever since. What cannot be understood is no object of belief.' For Athanasius he has no word hard enough, and his 'Paradoxical Questions concerning the Morals and Actions of Athanasius and His Followers' (quoted at length by Dr. McLachlan), makes piquant reading, for he makes a sustained, closely reasoned attempt to prove the dishonesty of Athanasius in the falsification of records.

WILFRED L. HANNAM

The Church of England in the Twentieth Century (Vol. II, 1919-39), by Roger Lloyd. (Longmans, 18s. 6d.)

Canon Lloyd possesses singular skill and some unique advantages in dealing with a very rarified theme. The peril of selection and compression is dullness, and he is never dull. He deals with such diverse matters as Malines, Slum Clearance, Ordination Candidates, Modernism, the Witness of Cathedrals, parsons' stipends, and the Church Assembly. This volume is not quite so well focused as the first; no doubt because it is the near-past that is under survey. Two features are especially evident in the Prologue and Epilogue, written from a personal viewpoint. One is the emphasis upon the pastorate,—the day-to-day dealing with men and women for God—and the other is a deep concern for the whole Body of Christ. Yet one could have wished for a little more about the ways in which other Churches in this country have shown their increasing readiness to co-operate with their Anglican friends.

HAROLD S. DARBY

Religion and the Rise of Western Culture, by Christopher Dawson. (Sheed and Ward, 15s.)

When a reviewer is told in advance that an author is 'the greatest living authority on culture' and that he is the 'wisest and most learned of our historians', he must be

forgiven if he begins by suspecting that the contents cannot be as good as the jacket says. Yet we can agree that Mr. Dawson in this second series of Gifford Lectures amply deserves the same commendations that were given to the first. There is here the same admirable blend of scholarly research, curious knowledge, and balanced judgement. In 274 pages Mr. Dawson takes us through eight centuries of history and seems to have left out nothing of importance. He not only has, for instance, a detailed knowledge of the byways of early Celtic Church history and of the ramifications of Byzantine Christianity, but he has the power of summing up a movement with a wise and unexpected generalization. For the Englishman, for instance, it is refreshing to have early English history put into its European setting and to realize the importance of the reign of Canute when 'it seemed for a time as though Canterbury might replace Hamburg as the ecclesiastical capital of the North'. Our generation has become so bemused by science that it is in danger of ignoring history, and so the appeal of an historical religion is weakened. The Roman Church, of course, does not ignore it, but pre-Reformation Christianity is the heritage of all the Churches, and Mr. Dawson's scholarly and non-sectarian treatment of that period should be a help to Protestant readers as well as to members of his own communion.

A. VICTOR MURRAY

Christianity and Society, by Nels F. S. Ferré. (Harper Brothers, New York, \$3.75.)

The author of this book, the distinguished Professor of Philosophical Theology in Vanderbilt University, here completes the worthy task begun in two earlier volumes on *Faith and Reason* and *Evil and the Christian Faith*. I have unwillingly to confess that I found this a tiring and a tiresome book to read.

The blemish is in his style of writing, for, like some other Americans, he prefers long words to short, and involved sentences instead of clear and lucid ones, and so makes thought woolly and meaning obscure. For example, he frequently uses words such as 'motivational' and 'societal'. As a comparatively mild illustration of his style take the following: 'Our *whole* history, however, both generationally and trans-generationally, is between the times. Our historic process finds new orientation, impetus, and opportunity in the illimitable ages and conditions beyond this human stage. Here on earth we hardly begin to catch even the slightest meaning of the divine story. If we should try to explain meanings from within our earthly perspectives and from within our societal dimensions, we should be honest enough to admit basic frustration.' However, I am sure that Professor Ferré has something to say on his absorbing theme. The titles of his opening chapters—'Christianity is *more* than Society', 'Christianity is *true* Society', and 'Christianity is completely *for* Society'—point to Christian faith as the power to redeem and transform society. The second part of the book deals with the Church as the Incarnation of the Holy Spirit, describes what the author calls 'the distinctive dimension of Christian social action', and unfolds the 'translating and transpowering role of the Spirit'. The exposition seems to rest on a dubious distinction between the Holy Spirit working within the Church, and the Spirit of God working outside the Church. The author is on surer ground in saying that 'the distinctive dimension of Christian social action is Agape, the greatest gift of the Spirit'. Here there are useful reflections on the calling of the Ministry. The third and last part of the book deals with War, Property, and Education. Here I quote two brief passages: 'The proportion of peace in the world is the proportion of man's acceptance of God's purpose.' 'World government alone will not solve our problems. It may even increase them in some ways. Only the finding and the living of the releasing and meaning-given Christian community, in a new dimension, will ever solve our problems.'

E. C. URWIN

Religion and the New Paganism, by John Pitts. (Independent Press, 8s. 6d.)

This essay in moral and political science from the Christian standpoint is based on a series of lectures to Clergy in Canada. While the chief attacks upon the Christian idea of man and ideal of life come from the new morality and the new politics, they draw strength from the new psychology and, indeed, from the very temper of our time. This determines the plan of the book. Part I examines the new pagan mood and its sources. The five chapters of Part II are devoted to an examination of the ways in which psychology is used to discredit religion. Part III deals with the new morality (i.e. the latest forms of the old immorality), with the revolt against the Christian view of marriage and the Christian ideal of sex. The failure of neo-moralism is pushed well home. Part IV treats of religion and current politics—i.e. with totalitarianism and democracy. (The eight years since the book was written have shifted our attention more upon communism than is recognized here.) Behind all this godlessness there lurks the subtle appeal of humanism. The final section probes its inconsistencies and shows the greater adequacy of the Christian view of man and the world. Dr. Pitt's style is clear and his arguments are easy to follow. While his discussions are not novel or particularly profound, they are calm and adequate. The book will serve well any who find the usual treatments too technical.

A. W. HEATHCOTE

Religion in China, by E. R. Hughes and K. Hughes. (Hutchinson University Library, 7s. 6d.)

It is astonishing how much has been included within the narrow limits of the 150 pages of this book, for it gives a fair summary of the 'religions' which, by the process of syncretism through the centuries, have combined in the formation of 'religion' as it exists in China today. From the primitive and animistic thought of the earliest known period two fundamental ideas were handed down—the power and authority of heaven, and the relationship between man and his ancestors. Ancestor-worship is more marked in Chinese religious thought than with any other race. It has often been deprecated as arising from selfish motives, but ancestor-worship forms part of the Chinese conception of the family, and this is the chief stabilizing influence in her organized society. Upon this inherited foundation the Confucian edifice of ethics and religious life was built. The stature of man as delineated by the great sage is a very noble one. In his constant concern with the dignity of human character as the true end of life, irrespective of advantage and privilege, Confucius greatly strengthened the moral stature of individual man in Chinese religious and cultural thought. Side by side with this he emphasized the importance of right relations in country, society, and family and home. Thus the individual sense of responsibility found adjustment within the corporate life of the community.

Perhaps the weakness of Confucianism is that, while setting a standard of character, it failed to provide the means whereby man could attain it. How could family obligations be discharged and manhood achieve its rightful dignity when the days were evil—as indeed they were in the fifth and sixth centuries A.D.? In a land where there was so much oppression and suffering, so many calamities from drought, flood, and epidemic, the Buddhist faith made a strong appeal. A male divinity from India became in China the 'Goddess of Mercy', viewed later as the female partner of the Buddha. This compassionate 'Mother of Heaven' has won a place in Chinese Buddhist thought similar to that of the Virgin Mary in the Roman Church.

The writers give a comprehensive account of the varied character of Christian Missions, Roman and Protestant, and their origins. Despite all the troubles of the last hundred years it is certain that the Christian Church in China is established. Yet the authors suggest that there is a new 'paganism' in China. Just as there

has arisen in England a generation largely ignorant of the Bible and the Christian Faith, so in China, in the present post-revolution period, a generation has arisen which knows less of Confucian ethics than any other generation for a thousand years. Some day Chinese Christian theologians will realize how wonderfully the old Chinese conception of the family provides an approach to the Christian doctrine of the Church. This scholarly and commendably clear volume is a book to read more than once.

D. B. CHILDE

The Adoration of the Lamb, by J. Ernest Rattenbury. (The Epworth Press, 6s.)
Were you There? Four Meditations on the Theme of Easter, by Allen Birtwhistle. (The Epworth Press, 3s. 6d.)
Bright is the Shaken Torch, by A. A. Cowan. (T. & T. Clark, 9s.)
He is Able, by W. E. Sangster. (The Epworth Press, 3s.)

Throughout his long ministry Dr. Ernest Rattenbury has done much to revive in Methodism the 'Catholic' tradition of the two Wesleys, with its emphasis on public worship, the sacraments, and the ordered and disciplined life of the Christian fellowship. In his new book he presents a series of studies, intended especially for reading in Lent and Holy Week. The fruit of long brooding over the greatest of all themes, they are wondering and worshipping meditations on the atoning life and death of the Saviour. With characteristic courage Dr. Rattenbury sends forth this book as 'a first contribution to a series of studies on the Christian Year'. May he be enabled to continue and complete his design.

In *Were you there?* the Cross is still the theme. The talks in this small book, originally given at a Young People's Conference, seek to relate the story of Calvary to the purpose of God in the world today, and to express, in acts of Devotion, the response of youth. In addition there is a series of Study Notes on the Cross, first given to a group of Cambridge University students. Any group may well use this little book.

Bright is the Shaken Torch is the latest volume in the well-known 'Scholar as Preacher' series. It is in the best tradition of the Presbyterian pulpit—expository, evangelical, with a wealth of illustration and literary allusion—but it uses at times an almost startling colloquialism that strikes a newer note. The arresting title is drawn from a saying of Sir William Hamilton: 'Truth, like a torch, the more it's shook it shines.' These sermons do indeed show, in various contexts, how, 'attacked by faithless moods and brutal times', the Gospel all the more flames up, the one light in a dark world.

Of Dr. Sangster's *He is Able*, now reissued, it must suffice here to say that, like his other books, it is the book of a man quite sure of his message, eagerly striving, with his whole mind and heart, with humour, pathos, and dramatic power, to commend his Saviour.

FRANCIS B. JAMES

Let Us All Pray, by William J. May. (The Epworth Press, 4s.)
The Cross in Poetry and Prayer, an anthology compiled by Alexander C. Blain. (The Epworth Press, 5s.)
Day by Day we Magnify Thee, Daily Meditations from Luther's writings compiled and translated by Margarete Steiner and Percy Scott. (The Epworth Press, 12s. 6d.)

Mr. May's book is designed to meet the need of those who are called to conduct devotions in Women's Fellowships. They will find it exceedingly helpful. It contains forty-five prayer services, each planned to occupy three or four minutes and cast in the form of 'A Text; A Thought; A Prayer' on a single theme. The language is both reverent and homely, and the themes are well chosen.

Mr. Blain's anthology provides daily devotional reading for eight weeks, with a short introductory study on 'The Pathos of the Cross'. The book is very attractively produced. The selected poetry and prayers are of somewhat uneven value.

Whether the third book is used as a devotional work or as an introduction to Luther's thinking about the essentials of our faith, it will be found to be a most valuable compilation. It contains selections from Luther's writings, mainly from his commentaries and sermons, arranged as daily meditations according to the ecclesiastical calendar of the Christian Year. The majority of the passages have not previously appeared in an English translation. No one can read them without realizing that Luther's heart and soul are being most intimately revealed to him. The forceful and often dramatic style of the writing gives the meditations a profoundly searching power, now compassionate, now ruthless, but very fruitful. Readers who know Luther's thought only at second hand will be continually surprised and moved by his power of imaginative utterance. There are many unforgettable phrases and sentences; and there are passages which immediately open up the path to God and make the reader wish to pray.

J. NEVILLE WARD

Methodist Worship in Relation to Free Church Worship, by John Bishop. (The Epworth Press, 8s. 6d.)

This is a careful and competent piece of work. While the author does his best to hold the balance fairly between what may be called the Anglican and the Dissenting traditions in public worship, it is clear that his sympathies are on the sacramental side. It is surprising that so many who take this view never seem to remember that there is a major peril here. The simple Eucharist of the New Testament became encrusted with superstition, and for more than a thousand years in the history of the Church it was too often sheer idolatry. As Wesley himself once said: 'Much harm is done by exaggerating the venerableness of a Sacrament.' For the rest, the book has much to recommend it. There are some very sane and timely judgements on the general character of worship. In speaking of the 'traditional procedure and movement of the service', which in some ways reaches back to the Roman Mass and the Jewish Synagogue, Mr. Bishop says very wisely: 'The quest for novelty for its own sake in the revision of orders of worship offers little hope of better services. It is with a service as it is with poetry or music: the artist displays his skill best if he works within the convention and not in rebellion against it.' That is shrewdly said, and there are many other things as good in these pages.

HENRY BETT

The Public Worship of God, A Source Book for Leaders of Services, by H. Sloane Coffin. (Independent Press, 8s. 6d.)

Through the Methodist Year in Prayer, compiled by J. T. Watson. (The Epworth Press, 1s.)

Dr. Coffin, whose sub-title is a little misleading, writes about the general principles of public worship and the way in which all the parts of a service should be made to conform to them. Occasionally his recommendations are more suited to America than to Britain—e.g. there are not many preachers in this country who would add salicylic acid to a test-tube of red liquid to illustrate the text 'Though your sins be as scarlet . . .'. But in the main the book is sound in matter and attractive in manner. There are many things here that preachers, congregations, and even trustees, still need to learn about the 'austere simplicity' of the sanctuary, the structure of the service, the congregational 'Amen', the use of the Lord's Prayer, the repeating of the psalms, the position of the choir, the tunes that 'enthrone God upon the praises of his people', and many other matters.

Mr. Watson's booklet gives information about the various Departments of the Methodist Church, and suggests subjects for prayer for each week in the year. Many will use this valuable guide in private, but it may also be used to suggest subjects for prayer in public services. By some oversight there is no mention of Young People's Day in the October prayers.

J. ALAN KAY

The Blessing of the Holy Spirit, by J. E. Fison. (Longmans, paper, 5s. 6d.; cloth, 8s. 6d.)
The Spirit of God, by C. C. Martindale. (Sheed & Ward, 7s. 6d.)

Canon Fison of Rochester affirms that 'in a religious situation in which liberal protestantism has lost touch with the supernatural and evangelical and pietist and catholic mysticism have lost touch with the natural, the supreme need of the Christian Church is a rediscovery of the blessing of the Holy Spirit'. He therefore examines the biblical doctrine of the Spirit, and he then applies his findings in a critique of biblical fundamentalism (to which he once adhered), 'ministerial fundamentalism', and 'eucharistic fundamentalism', mostly in their Anglican forms. He is deeply indebted to writers as diverse as Mr. Kingsley Barrett, Martin Buber, and Dom Gregory Dix. He puts Brunner, Oman, and Heiler together, and he links Hebert, Nygren, and Snaith, suggesting that they are really defeatist. This is a stimulating, vigorous, and thoughtful book, though it does not entirely reach its goal.

The well-known Jesuit, Fr. Martindale, has published a volume of sermons, not specifically concerned with the Holy Spirit, but of a general character. They are much more biblical than much current Protestant preaching, but they rather lack illustrations. There is much which a Protestant can readily accept, but is the preacher really interested in the main point of the Epistle to the Romans?

A. RAYMOND GEORGE

Wesley: a Man with a Concern, by E. D. Bebb. (The Epworth Press, 6s.)

This is another book about the social content and application of Wesley's message. Until I read it I had a private feeling that this particular patch of Methodist ground had been so intensively cultivated that no other book was needed. But, while Dr. Bebb could hardly hope to discover fresh facts where so many had preceded him, he has a live and scholarly mind and he presents the material in a fresh and forceful way. Many of the earlier books have been designed for a certain somewhat exclusive constituency, but this one, with all its informed scholarship, is written for the way-faring man. Even now far too few people realize that Wesley was one of the greatest social reformers in our history, and that he not only actively opposed such evils as slavery, alcoholism, gambling and smuggling, but built schools, issued innumerable cheap tracts, pamphlets, and books, set up Dispensaries, and established lending stocks and benevolent societies. This timely book illustrates once again that for Wesley there was no holiness but social holiness.

MALDWYN EDWARDS

Methodist Secondary Education, by F. C. Pritchard. (The Epworth Press, 20s.)

In nineteen chapters and six appendixes Dr. Pritchard provides the student of history with a mine of useful information. While much of the material is second-hand, it gains new interest under the skilful direction of the author and is illumined by fresh detail from original sources. As an historical treatise the work is invaluable. It explores yet another Methodist instance of the never-ending effects of the eighteenth-century religious revival. After explaining John Wesley's theory of educational development and contribution to it, Dr. Pritchard examines the activities of the 'Dissenting Academies', with which, he declares, the Methodist schools had 'a closer affinity' than with the public and grammar schools. The story of the inception and development of the Kingswood, Woodhouse Grove, and Shebbear institutions is related in excellent fashion and throbs with interest from beginning to end. The writer's comments regarding 'Religious Revivals in Schools' will be endorsed by some readers but resented by others. He describes James Hindmarsh, whom John Wesley appointed English and Writing Master at Kingswood in 1765, as 'a dangerous person', 'a religious fanatic', with 'no knowledge of children', who created 'religious

hysteria' by his 'dangerous evangelistic outpourings'. Yet surely the behaviour of evangelists like Hindmarsh is more commendable than the conduct, for instance, of the judge who sentenced to death a child of eleven for appropriating four letters from the post, or of the masters who employed little mites of five or under to toil in mines and factories for long hours in shocking conditions for a mere pittance. Hindmarsh and his companions were seeking to save the soul; the others succeeded in blasting both body and soul. Dr. Pritchard traces the development of the Methodist educational system through the nineteenth century and into the twentieth with masterly skill. He deals with schools for girls as well as boys. What a pity the author left his task unfinished! He says nothing about the New Connexion contribution, and hardly anything about either the Primitive Methodist or Methodist Free Churches contribution. The Wesleyans were not the only Methodists before union who did notable service to education. None the less, this book is a real contribution to the story of Methodist achievement and influence.

ROBERT F. WEARMOUTH

Retrospect of an Unimportant Life, Vol. III., by H. Hensley Henson. (Oxford Press, 25s.)

Those who have read the two former volumes of Bishop Hensley Henson's life will expect a feast this time. The Bishop spends some little time in justifying his title, contending that it is the events, tremendous and world-shaking, among which he has passed his days, that give interest to his story. Certainly the recollections of wartime days grow vivid as one reads the everyday details which he culls from his diary. Having resigned his see of Durham, he looked forward to a 'quiet evening' (though one may doubt if it would have suited him!)—only to answer very gallantly the calls of wartime emergencies. His service as a Canon of Westminster was short-lived, but, without a word about the difficulties there, he quietly accepted the labours of the country parish in which his new home was situated. The work of the Church and the parish must go on—that was sufficient for him. A constant stream of 'speech-days' and other important occasions still occupied him.

The reader is treated to a veritable catalogue of the Bishop's dislikes—they range from Anglo-Catholics and Dr. Winnington-Ingram (to whom, however, he pays a warm tribute in one place) to Christmas cards and cats, sparrows and garden fêtes (about which there is a cautionary tale). Perhaps the most mordant entry in his diary runs: 'Christmas Day. No papers. *Laus Deo!*' He makes an *apologia* for two 'unfortunate remarks' about Nonconformists which, he considers, had a prejudicial effect upon his career, and pays a tribute to Methodist work in India. One of the most moving parts of the book is the 'Open Letter' which concludes it. In this long section the Bishop gives a careful and candid account of his early life, his conversion and call, and his spiritual experience. He cannot give any precise date of conversion; life he has found a fight in which doubt has been *kept under*, and there is a suggestion that this is about all. Free Churchmen will note with pleasure that 'a Dissenting Minister' had a great hand in the pilgrimage which brought a bonny fighter to the work of God. Lively as his mind was, Hensley Henson was a faithful Christian. His admirers will find much to their taste in this final volume.

FRANK CUMBERS

Henri Bremond, by Henry Hogarth. (S.P.C.K., 13s. 6d.)

After an account of Bremond's studies of Newman and Thomas More, and a valuable elucidation of the Bossuet-Fénelon dispute, Mr. Hogarth launches out upon an examination of Bremond's huge history of the revival of religion in post-Reformation France. The harsh treatment and insidious proselytism visited upon the Huguenots, Pascal's indictment of the Jesuits, and the natural English sympathy with Jansenism, had brought the French Church into disrepute. Bremond aimed to restore the

balance and trace the unbroken line of vital mystical religion through all those worldly controversial years. He rejoices to discover a gay gracious piety in many lesser men, but especially in his favourite saint, François de Sales. One is particularly grateful for the analysis of the character of the enigmatic Pascal, viewed from an unfamiliar angle. A noble soul himself, Bremond loved the society of *les dmes bien nées*. Like some others he found life in the Roman Church not easy for an enlightened and independent spirit. A good deal of an Erasmian, he strove to vindicate the harmony of faith and intellect, of nature and grace. This welcome book, the fruit of much study, has been a labour of love. For many readers it will break new and interesting ground.

F. BROMPTON HARVEY

Daybreak in Jamaica, by Frederick Pilkington. (The Epworth Press, 10s. 6d.)

There is some excuse for those West Indian people and ministers who have felt that their field had become the Cinderella of Methodist Missions, forgotten and neglected as attention was given to younger and more glamorous sisters in Africa and Asia. We need reminders of our first missionary enterprises, their romance and splendour, and Mr. Pilkington will help to bring the Caribbean islands within the horizon of missionary-minded Methodists. If there were space, one might discuss a minor point or two with him, but he has told a great story in an interesting and readable way. The strongest part of the book is the historical background, for modern problems fall out of perspective unless they are considered in relation to past conditions. To be shown (as is here done) the historical causes of moral and social conditions in Jamaica is to be helped toward a sympathetic understanding of the people involved. Mr. Pilkington obviously loves those of whom he writes. The photographs are excellent.

J. LESLIE WEBB

In the Land of His Love, by Minnie Lindsay Carpenter. (The Epworth Press, 6s.)

This little book is an account of the musings of the wife of General Carpenter, of the Salvation Army, when they spent a little while in Palestine in 1945. The writer is concerned more with recounting the events of the life of Jesus than with describing the Holy Land. Indeed, there are times when she simply mentions the name of a place without saying what it looks like. On the other hand, there is a vivid word of description, for instance, when she talks of olive trees in the spring or gives us a view of the Sea of Galilee. But, when she visits the Temple Area, she calls the lovely octagon of the Dome of the Rock a 'rectangular edifice' which has 'little interest' for her. There are extensive quotations from the Authorized Version throughout. While the account of 'the land' itself is superficial, the book is not sentimental (although it is somewhat naive in places). There are some errors—e.g. 'hyenas' for 'jackals' on p. 16; and 'El Karin' for 'Ain Karim' on p. 20. On p. 125 the Palace of Caiaphas is wrongly located on the Hill of Evil Counsel, and (p. 133) the medieval Gothic of the present 'Last Supper Room' can hardly be called 'plain'. The value of the book is devotional.

LESLIE FARMER

Study Notes on the New Testament, by Greville P. Lewis. (The Epworth Press, 10s. 6d.)

This book is intended for students who are training to be Local Preachers. Mr. Lewis fully meets their need. The reader has the encouraging impression that he is in touch with a teacher who cares for and understands him throughout his course. The book is meant to be used along with A. M. Hunter's *Introducing the New Testament*. It is divided into fortnightly lessons, with questions. The lessons do not cover the whole of the New Testament, but follow the Local Preachers' Syllabus, and will be of service to many.

DOROTHY H. FARRAR

From My New Shelf

BY C. RYDER SMITH

The Christian Doctrine of God, by Emil Brunner. (Lutterworth Press, 21s.)
Christianity and Civilization, First Part: Foundations, by Emil Brunner. (Nisbet & Co., 10s.)

The first of these books, Vol. I in Brunner's 'Dogmatics', was published in German in 1946, and has now been excellently translated by Dr. Olive Wyon. In some places it resumes the discussions of Brunner's earlier monograms, but it is, of course, a great advantage for the many students of this great theologian to have the Doctrine of God treated as a systematic whole. The book falls into three parts. The first on 'The Basis and Task of Dogmatics' is 'prolegomena'. Then the subject itself is treated under the title 'The Eternal Foundation of the Divine Self-Communication'. Of the two parts here one is on 'The Nature of God and His Attributes' and the other on 'The Will of God'. Throughout there are appendices, which deal chiefly with the development of various doctrines in the history of Christian theology. Prof. Brunner quotes many writers, but after Calvin he has very little to say about any but German and German-Swiss writers. His most numerous references are to Luther and Barth. He has a constant eye on both. He has taken great pains to make his meaning clear, even at the expense of some repetition. This is all to the good. On the other hand, he will not have satisfied his critics. All Evangelicals will rejoice to have so fine a vindication of their doctrine that the fundamental thing in Christianity is personal fellowship with Christ. This, at any rate, has had its chief exponents since the Reformation outside Germany. Prof. Brunner writes again and again of 'that fatal compromise between Greek speculative thought and biblical thought' which culminated in Pseudo-Dionysius. One would like to hear Dean Inge on this! Sometimes Prof. Brunner almost seems to reduce God to mere 'will', but he allows that there is an 'aspect of the divine will expressed in the idea of righteousness'. He thinks that 'Luther's doctrine of ubiquity is fantastic', though it is 'the expression of a genuine biblical concern'. Perhaps to theologians the section on 'The Will of God' will be even more interesting than the rest of the book. Here Prof. Brunner argues closely for what is in effect the Arminian doctrine—that those who 'freely believe' are the 'elect'. On the Hereafter of the Wicked he accuses both Calvin, in his teaching of 'Double Predestination', and Barth, in his peculiar brand of 'Universalism', of 'Natural Theology' on the basis of a statement which has a biblical core'. His own belief is that the New Testament teaches that Eternal Punishment and Universalism are both 'possibilities', and that we should take the former 'possibility', in particular, seriously. But is the term 'possibility' appropriate to any New Testament doctrine?

In the second book, the first series of his Gifford Lectures, Prof. Brunner, writing in excellent English, deals with the 'Problems' of 'Reality', 'Truth', 'Time', 'Meaning', 'Justice', 'Freedom', and 'Creativity', with two central chapters, on 'Man in the Universe' and 'Personality and Humanity', which discuss the 'Problem of Man' without the title. Of course, the author starts from 'the Word' as given in the Bible. For his present subject this word is 'The Word of Creation', which, he rightly claims, has only come through 'revelation'. Throughout the lectures, Prof. Brunner follows one method—first, to show how Humanism has failed to solve a problem and then to present the Christian solution. We are now getting used to books on the bankruptcy of Humanism, but Prof. Brunner arraigns the ancient Humanism of Greece as well as its modern counterpart, and he has many acute remarks to make about both. It is, however, in the integration of the Christian answer to the various

'problems' that the value of the book chiefly lies. Of course the lecturer had not time to develop this answer in its various parts fully—still less to defend it fully—but there is here what we have much needed, an up-to-date Christian philosophy. Those who do not confine truth to 'revelation' in Brunner's sense of the word may still agree with almost all that he says. A quotation will show what account he gives of 'reason': 'True reason' is 'that which receives the divine, not that which thinks that it *has* the divine in itself, or that it *is*, in its depth, the divine.' Another quotation makes one wonder how much Brunner knows of the Evangelical Revival in England and America, for he writes that today 'Christian faith has become, as it has never been since the first centuries of the Christian era, a matter of personal decision'. Brunner, like Barth, is hard upon Schleiermacher as pantheistic, but, of course, he shares with him a belief in man's 'unconditional dependence on God'. One of the most important lectures deals with 'justice'. In it Brunner summarizes his doctrine of 'natural law', which Barth so hotly rejected, and discriminates between the ideas of 'equality' and 'hierarchy' in Christian doctrine. The final lecture, on 'creativity', treats a subject that is too often neglected in Christian philosophies. The central idea here is that every kind of human creativity—e.g. in aesthetics at one extreme and in technics at the other—is tempted to claim to be autonomous. If it yields, it becomes a slave. When an autonomous economics marries an autonomous statism, as in Marxism, the outcome is a coercive totalitarianism that, usurping the prerogative of God to be the lord of all creativity, kills creativity.

SHORT NOTICES

The Biblical Doctrine of Election, by H. H. Rowley (Lutterworth Press, 14s.)

These Curtis Lectures for 1948 deal with the Election of *Israel*. The dominant idea is that her election was 'for service'. Prof. Rowley includes lectures on the election of individuals, such as the Prophets, and on the election for certain purposes of Gentile nations (e.g. the Assyrians) and individuals (e.g. Pharaoh). He provides an extensive bibliography in footnotes. There are discussions of such subjects as Covenant and Proselytism. In the last and longest chapter the lecturer expounds the New Testament doctrine of the New *Israel*, providing an excellent example of the right way to link the two parts of the Bible. At the end the scholar becomes the preacher.

Ruth and Jonah, by George A. F. Knight. (S.C.M., 6s.)

There are a few small blemishes in this Torch Commentary. For instance, the Edomites did not disappear under the great Empires, it was not left to Sennacherib to put Assyria 'on the map' again, there is evidence that doves were eaten (Leviticus 6²⁶, 12⁸), and surely forlorn Naomi did not feel like God's 'naughty child'. But Prof. Knight's chief purposes are to make the two stories live and to show how they still teach, and he succeeds excellently in both. A reader feels as if the writer were talking to him. The name 'Jonah' means 'dove', and the exposition of the way in which the Jews often took 'dove' to stand for '*Israel*' is specially valuable.

The Letters of Saint Paul, translated by Arthur S. Way. (Marshall, Morgan and Scott, 7s. 6d.)

This is the eighth edition, 'issued in response to innumerable requests', of a translation first printed in 1901. Dr. Way's purpose was 'to furnish a clear, precise, and connected sense' in good current English. Under 'connected' he supplies the modern reader with links in the Apostle's thought that the first readers would discern for themselves. He takes a good many passages to be hymns and prints them so. A translation of the Epistle to the Hebrews is added.

Bible Key Words from Kittel's Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament, translated and edited by J. R. Coates: *Love*, by Gottfried Quell and Ethelbert Stauffer; *The Church*, by Karl Ludwig Schmidt. (A. and C. Black, 6s. each.)

'Kittel', even though incomplete, has become a *vade-mecum* for the New Testament exegete. It is good news that, though the work was interrupted by the war, and though Prof. Kittel died in 1948, the *Wörterbuch* is being completed. English students will rejoice to know that Dr. J. R. Coates is translating a number of the chief articles. The first two titles, on 'Love' and 'the Church', are now published. 'Sin' and 'Righteousness' are to come next. Of course, an account of the antecedent use of the terms in the Old Testament and in Judaism is included.

The Origins of the New Testament, authorized translation by L. P. Jacks. (Geo. Allen and Unwin, 18s.)

Dr. Jacks has now followed his translation of Loisy's *La Naissance du Christianisme* with that of *Les Origines du Nouveau Testament*, a 'companion volume', which was issued in French in 1936.

Aux Sources de la Tradition Chrétienne, Mélanges offerts à M. Maurice Goguel. (Delachaux et Niestlé, Neuchâtel, 2 fr. suisses.)

Here twenty-seven scholars from several nations unite in tribute to the veteran Goguel (of whom there is a portrait). A good many of the articles deal with particular passages—e.g. Matthew 18¹⁰, Mark 12¹⁻⁸, John 1¹², Acts 5¹⁻¹¹. Prof. T. W. Manson, the only British contributor, examines the value of Josephus's account of Apocalyptic. The Dominican, Prof. C. Spicq, writes on 'L'origine johannique de la conception du Christ-prêtre dans l'Epître aux Hébreux'.

From Constantine to Julian, by Hans Lietzmann, translated by Bertram Lee Woolf. (Lutterworth Press, 21s.)

The English translation of the third volume of Lietzmann's *History of the Early Church* has quickly followed the second. *Pace* the title, it includes Diocletian. It needs no praise. When Prof. Lietzmann died in 1942, he left the MS. for the fourth volume on *The Era of the Church Fathers* so nearly complete that Dr. Eltester was able to issue most of it, and Dr. Lee Woolf is already busy with its translation.

BOOKLETS AND PAMPHLETS

'Little Books of the Kindly Light' (The Epworth Press, 6d. each): *Flesh into Flame*, by James Mackay; *Does God Care?*, by Robertson Ballard; *Why Read the Bible?*, by Eric G. Frost.

'Beckly Occasional Papers' (The Epworth Press, 1s. each): *The Good Neighbour*, by Leslie Davison; *The Christian Claim for Total Abstinence*, by Maldwyn Edwards; *The Christian View of the Family*, by W. F. Lofthouse; *Your Money and Your Life*, by J. P. K. Byrnes.

'Beckly Pamphlets' (The Epworth Press, 6d. each): *The Philosophy of Communism*, by W. F. Lofthouse; *The Economics of Communism*, by Edward Rogers; *How Soviet Rule came to Russia*, by Henry Carter; *Communism and Violence*, by E. C. Urwin.

'Epworth' and 'Wyvern' Plays (The Epworth Press): *Ruth*, by F. E. Knight (6d.); *What hath God wrought?* (for Wesley Day), by Kenneth L. Towers (1s.); *He went to Pilate*, by K. D. Evans (1s. 9d.).

Missionary Plays (Methodist Missionary Society): *Peace Among the Nations*, by Muriel R. Wray (4d.); *Offerings of Devotion*, a Processional, arranged by E. and C. Perrett (3d.).

What is Existentialism?, by Roland Bailey (S.P.C.K., 1s.). *Karl Marx and his Doctrines*, by A. C. Bouquet (S.P.C.K., 1s.).

The Lord's Prayer for Today, by Frederick Willcox (The Epworth Press, 2s. 6d.). *How to Pray* (Broadcast Talks), by J. Neville Ward (The Epworth Press, 1s.). *Commending the Gospel* (for Evangelistic Campaigners), by Harold Roberts (The Epworth Press, 6d.). *The Sanctions of Christian Healing*, by Harold Roberts (The Epworth Press, 1s.).

The Proposed Scheme of Church Union in Ceylon, prepared by the Negotiating Committee (Lutterworth Press, 2s. 6d.).

'The Friendly Series', by H. L. Gee (The Epworth Press, 2s. each): *Busy Streets*; *They Come to My Door*.

The Character of a Methodist, by John Wesley (The Epworth Press, 6d.).

The Little Palace Beautiful, by F. W. Boreham (The Epworth Press, 9d.).

NOTABLE ARTICLES IN PERIODICALS

The Hibbert Journal, July (Allen and Unwin, 3s. 6d.).

The Mystery of the Family Bond, by Gabriel Marcel.

Loisy's *Origins of the New Testament*, by Vincent Taylor.

Sin, Psychology, and God, by A. Graham Ikin.

A Tale of Two Pilgrims (Bunyan and Voltaire), by R. Elliot Fitch.

Harvard Theological Review, April (Harvard University Press, via Oxford Press, \$3.00 a year).

The Disputation of Barcelona (1263), by Cecil Roth.

Neo-Orthodoxy and Biblical Research, by John H. Ottwell.

Die Wiederkehrenden Tote, by H. J. Rose.

John 13¹⁻²⁰, by Wilfred L. Knox.

A Reminiscence of Paul on a Coin Amulet, by Campbell Bonner.

The Silence of Bishops in Ignatius, by Henry Chadwick.

The Expository Times, June (T. and T. Clark, 1s. 3d.).

Prophecy and Prediction, by Roderic Dunkerley.

Søren Kierkegaard as Major Prophet of the Nineteenth Century, by H. L. Stewart.

Limitations of Christ's Human Body, by John Baker.

do, July.

The Place of Oral Tradition in the Growth of the Old Testament (Uppsala School), by C. R. North.

Human Depravity or Natural Goodness?, by E. Lynn Cragg.

The Return of the Jews to Palestine, by S. F. Hunter.

do, August.

The Dead Sea Scrolls: Publications and Review, by Bleddyn J. Roberts.

The Antiquity of Israelite Monotheism, by H. H. Rowley.

Gambling—a Problem for Christian Ethics, by W. Lillie.

The International Review of Missions, July (Oxford Press, 3s. 6d.).

Four articles on work in various parts of Africa, and one on African drama.

Universities in the New India (the Radhakrishnan Report), by C. S. Milford.

The Congregational Quarterly, July (Independent Press, 3s. 6d.).

Beliefs about the Last Things, by John Baillie.

Existentialism, by J. B. Coates.

On rereading Tertullian, by George Phillips.

The Journal of Religion, April (Chicago University Press, via Cambridge Press, \$1.85).

Preface to Hermeneutics (the Bible as the history of a religion and Revelation), by J. Coert Rylaardsdam.

Job and Prometheus, by William A. Irwin.

The Future (Study) of the Ante-Nicene Fathers, by Robert M. Grant.

Studies in Philology, April (The University of North Carolina Press, via Cambridge Press, \$1.25).

Poems attributed to Sir Philip Sidney, by Wm. Ringler.

Machiavelli and Sidney: The *Arcadia* of 1560, by Irving Ribner.

New Light on Stage Directions in Shakespeare, by Warren Smith.

Milton's Dual Concept of God as Related to Creation, by Walter C. Curry.

Our Contributors

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C. RYDER SMITH
B.A., D.D.

Presbyterian minister. Head of the Department of Divinity, King's College, Newcastle upon Tyne. Author of *The Structure of Life*, etc.

Music Editor, *Daily Mail*; Assistant Editor, *Musical Mirror*, 1928-31; Concert and Opera Critic and Reviewer, *Music Lover*, 1931-4; Author, *Brahms, A Thumbnail Sketch* (Paxton); Contributor to *Music and Letters*, *Musical Times*, *Musical Opinion*, *Chesterian Choir*, &c.

Congregational Minister. Superintendent Minister of Whitefield's Central Mission, London, for nearly twelve years. Member of the Federal Free Church Council and World Brotherhood Federation. Vice-President Students Society, London University. Author of many religious books, including *Pax Christi*. Contributor to the *Manchester Evening News*.

Resident Chaplain, Methodist College, Belfast (1934-6). Tutor, Wesley College, Kumasi, Gold Coast (1936-48)—for some years in charge of the Department of English at the College.

Methodist Minister. Contributor to religious journals.

Organist of Wesley's Chapel, City Road. Graduate and professor, Trinity College of Music. Conductor of Morley College Orchestra. Member of Westminster Abbey Choir.

Lay Secretary of the Ecumenical Methodist Council. Author of *English Dissent under the Early Hanoverians*.

M.A. (Newnham College, Cambridge); M.Sc. (Manchester), granted for thesis on psychoanalytical research. Gilchrist Scholarship (Newnham); awarded the Lewis Research Scholarship in Industrial Psychology.

Dean of St. Paul's. Member of Senate, University of London. Hon. Bencher, Gray's Inn. Lecturer in Philosophy at King's College (1908-18) and in Dogmatic Theology (1909-18). Professor of the Philosophy of Religion (King's College). Chaplain to the King (1923-31). F.R.S.L. (1948). Author of many theosophical and theological books.

Playwright and producer, has experience of village, town and suburban drama groups in connexion with Methodist and Anglican Churches as well as inter-denominational organizations. Author of *Living Water, Kindled at Thy Flame* (C.M.S.), *The Fare to Tarshish, Ploughshares and Pruning Hooks* (N.S.S.U.), etc. Member of the R.D.S. Council.

Methodist Minister.

Late Headmaster, Aberdeen. Fellow of the Educational Institute of Scotland. Contributor to various journals.

Methodist Minister. Author of *The Pattern in the Mount*. For over twenty years a missionary in China, and formerly Chairman of the North China District, Methodist Church.

Principal, Richmond College, London University, 1929-40. Professor in Theology, 1932-40. President Methodist Church, 1931. Author of many theological books.

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